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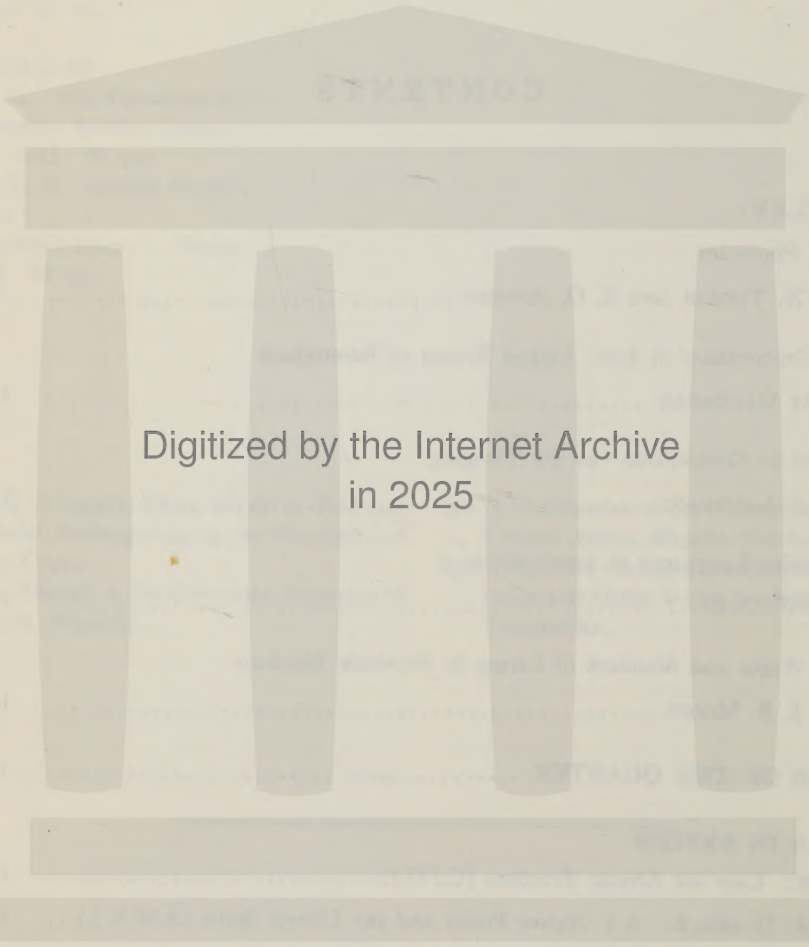

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SWAHILI PHONETICS

By A. N. TUCKER and E. O. ASHTON

INTRODUCTORY

The following study is based, to a certain extent, on analyses of the pronunciation of three Swahili speaking visitors to London: Mohammad Hilal Barwani, M. Ramadhani and Hamisi Bin Juma.

The pronunciation studied in each case bore the characteristics of what is loosely termed "Zanzibar" Swahili (Taylor's "Southern" as opposed to his "Central"—Mombasa—dialect), though our informants differed considerably in other aspects, such as richness of vocabulary, neatness of phraseology and idiomatic construction.

Barwani's Swahili may be described as that of the educated Arabic *élite* section of Zanzibar town.

Ramadhani, also from the Zanzibar region, spoke the Swahili typical of the man without education.

Hamisi, originally from the Taita district in Kenya, about 100 miles inland, had spent a roving life, and may be said to speak typical "up-country" Swahili.

Gramophone records have been made of Barwani's speech, and these have also been analysed. In addition much use has been made of existing gramophone records, notably *Hadithi ya Sultani na Kitanda chake kipya* (Columbia W. 63349-50-51-52), recorded by Saleh Buesh, also in the Zanzibar dialect.

For the rest the authors have relied on personal knowledge of the language[1] and (in the section on sound change especially) on the abundant literature with which the language is furnished.

The authors have followed the example of most Swahili dictionaries by marking with an asterisk words borrowed into Swahili from Arabic and other non-Bantu languages. Where reference is made in the text to other Bantu languages, no attempt is made to render words phonetically; these are spelt according to local usage.

Readers of the vowel section of this work, and the section on consonant aspiration, may possibly protest that the pronunciation of our four informants (including Buesh) shows too many "Englishisms"—that in fact they commit many of the very phonetic crimes against which teachers of Swahili take great pains to warn their English-speaking students. It may be contended that their Swahili pronounciation has deteriorated through contact with English (though only Barwani spoke English really fluently), but the fact that all four individuals are influenced in exactly the same way is more likely to indicate that Swahili itself is going through a process of sound change. This process, which seems to have been in operation for a considerable time, is closely linked, in our opinion, with the language's loss of semantic tone and its adoption of a tone system governed largely by stress.

THE SOUNDS OF SWAHILI

1. Swahili, unlike most Bantu languages, is not a "tone" language. Intonation here, as in English, is largely governed by stress, though the stress-tone patterns of Swahili naturally differ from those of English. Since in this section of the work most of the material is given in the form of words or short phrases, spoken in isolation, a few hints on the appropriate stress and intonation of such works, etc. is given here.

2. The Swahili syllable is an open one, i.e. it normally ends in a vowel. e.g.

le-ta (bring), *ni-ta-ku-pi-ga* (I shall hit you).

On occasions the nasal consonants, *m*, *n* and *ŋ*, are pronounced syllabically. e.g.

m̩-pa-ji (giver), *n̩-de-ge* (bird), *ŋ̩-ga-no* (story).[1]

[1] In the case of Mrs. Ashton.

3. Stress, accompanied by length and a falling tone, falls normally on the penultimate syllable of these words or phrases. The pattern for syllabic words (there are very few monosyllabic words in Swahili) is as follows:

**lu:lu* (pearl) ˋ . *pa:ta* (get) ˋ .

i.e. high falling long penultimate syllable: final syllable spoken at bottom register of voice. The same sort of stress and tone pattern may be heard in English words like "Zulu," "garter," when spoken in isolation—but not in words like "below," "guitar."

Note that syllabic nasal consonants may also have stress and falling tone when occurring as a penultimate syllable:

m̲:bwa (dog) ˋ ˌ *m̲:to* (pillow) ˋ ˌ
ŋ̲:ge (scorpion) ˋ ˌ

4. In trisyllabic words or phrases the pattern is . ˋ ˌ i.e. the first syllable is unstressed and pronounced with relatively low tone. e.g.

**rafi:ki* (friend) . ˋ ˌ *n̲di:zi* (banana) . ˋ ˌ
sija:mbo a greeting . ˋ ˌ **kwa he:ri* farewell . ˋ ˌ

The same sort of tone-stress pattern may be heard in English words and phrases like "banana," "unduly," "for ever,"—but not in words like "happily," or "underlie."

5. In words of more than three syllables the pattern varies according to individual and context:

waŋgali:fu (care) .˙ ˋ ˌ or . . ˋ ˌ
nimevile:ta (I have brought them) .˙˙ ˋ ˌ or ˙˙˙ ˋ ˌ

In such cases the stress-tone pattern will be given in the text.

6. A few trisyllabic words have the stress on the antipenultimate (i.e. the first) syllable. Here the pattern is as follows:

**ka·βisa*	(completely)	-. .	or -˙.
**ka·diri*	(estimate)	-. .	or -˙.
**ɣa·ɗaβu*	(rage)	-. .	
**a·sili*	(origin)	-. .	
**θu·muni*	(eighth)	-. .	

See also §37.

VOWELS

7. There are only five vowel phonemes in Swahili:

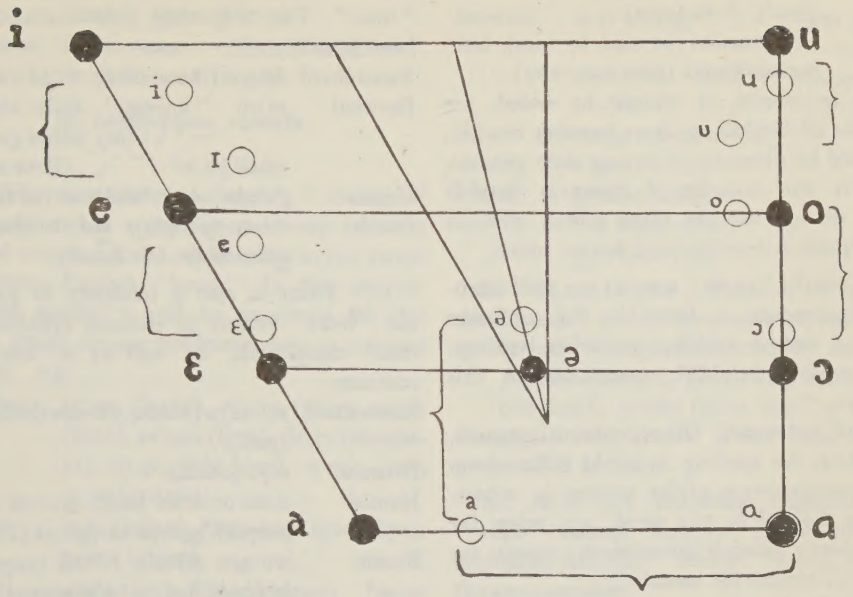
i with main value similar to that in English "see,"
u with main value similar to that in English "soon,"
e with main value similar to that in English "head,"
o with main value similar to that in English "awe,"
a with main value similar to that in Italian "mandata."[1]

There are subsidiary vowel values within each phoneme, but their use is not easy to define. They occur in certain contexts with some speakers, but in different contexts with others, or may vary with the same speaker at different times. These variations will be indicated in this chapter by the employment of special vowel symbols, in an attempt to set out the principal context for vowel alternation. Elsewhere in this treatise the letters *i u e o a* will be used for all values, except in a few special cases.

8. The following diagram shows the tongue positions of the five Swahili vowel phonemes, with their main variants, in relation to the Cardinal Vowel System:

[1] Not as in Southern English "father."

[1] This only applies when the nasal element is a prefix. In words like *i-mba* (sing), *pe-nda* (love), *tu-ŋga* (thread) the nasal is part of a combined sound.



9. These phonemes may be grouped into two "close" phonemes, *i* and *u*; two "semi-open" phonemes, *e* and *o*; and one "open" phoneme, *a*.

The "close" and "semi-open" phonemes each have two main varieties of vowel:

"strong," indicated here by the letters *i u ɛ ɔ*, occurring mostly in stressed syllables;

"weak," indicated here by the letters ɪ ʊ *e o*, occurring frequently in unstressed syllables, or else before nasal compounds, especially *-mb-*.

The "weak" vowels are pronounced with less energy than the "strong" vowels, and tend to be slightly centralized.

The "open" phoneme has three main varieties of vowel sound: a fairly "front" variety *a* (the most common variety), a very back variety *ɑ* (not often heard), and a centralized variety *ə*, heard often in unstressed syllables.

The close vowels

i

10. The most common variety of *i* in Swahili has a "strong" articulation, similar to that in English "see,"[1] though it is inclined to be somewhat centralized with some speakers.

mi:mi (I), *hi:i* (this—nasal class) **fiiki:ri*[2] (consider).

11. In unstressed syllables there is a tendency to pronounce a "weak" variety of vowel sound, similar to the final sound in Southern English "happy." The following pronunciations have been heard:

Barwani **βi:βɪ* (mistress), *nyi:ŋgɪ* (many), **a:lɪ* (man's name), *na:nɪ* (who?), **kwa hɛ:rɪ* (good bye), *nini hɪ:ɪ* (what is this?)

Hamisi **βa:sɪ* (well then), **waka:ti* (time), *walɪku:ja* (they came).

Buesh **hoɗa:rɪ* (strong), *nzu:rɪ* (fine—nasal class).

12. There is also a tendency to pronounce the "weak" variety in stressed syllables before nasal compounds, in less well defined contexts.

[1] Not, however, diphthongized, as is often the case in Southern English.

[2] English speakers should be careful to pronounce a pure vowel before *r*, and not make the word rhyme with "beery."

Ramadhani *sɪ:mba* (lion), *lɪ:nda* (guard), **azɪ:ma* (lend), *pɪ:ta* (pass).
Buesh *akamwambɪa* (he said to him), but: *wamenikimbia* (they ran away).

These tendencies, it should be noted, are normal for all English speakers learning Swahili, and should be discouraged among such persons, because in the majority of instances Swahili speakers do not use the weak vowel, whereas English speakers tend to use it far too much.

13. That the "weak" sound ɪ is a well established phenomenon is shown by the confusion between *-i-* and *-e-* spellings in earlier writings. Taylor, writing in 1891, comments on this confusion:—[1]

> "*MagaE*, not *magai*. Other common instances, in which the spelling in books differs from the pronunciation of the natives in substituting *E* for *I* or *vice versâ*, are, *mjani* for for *mjane*; *mlingote* for *mlingoti*; *magote* for *magot'i*; *soruali* for *suruale*."

Note that the latest accepted spelling is *magae* (potsherds), *mjane* (widow), *mlingoti* (mast) *magoti* (knees), *suruali* (trousers). Note also the German spelling "Suaheli" for Swahili.

14. The alternation between *i* and ɪ is sporadic, however, and bears no relationship to the "heavy" *î* and "light" *i* of Bantu philology. Compare:—

B. *pîtî* Sotho *phiri* Kikuyu *hiti*
Swahili *fi:si* or *fi:sɪ* (hyena).
B. *vili* Sotho *mmele* Kikuyu *mwīrī*[2]
Swahili *mwi:li* or *mwi:lɪ* (body).

u

15. The most common variety of this phoneme is a "strong" back vowel, not so tense as in French "*ou*," but further back than in the average English pronunciation in "fool."[1]

vu:na (swell), *-o:vu* (rotten), *-zu:ri*[2] (fine).

16. In unstressed syllables there is a tendency to pronounce a "weak" variety of vowel sound, similar to the final sound in Southern English "into." The following pronounciations have been heard:

Ramadhani *hu:yʊ* (this—man), *kʊpa:ta* (to get).
Barwani *vi:sʊ* "knives," *ßaßa akusali:mʊ* (my father greets you)
ʊhali ga:nɪ (How are you?)
Hamisi **ɗʊka:ni* or **ɗuka:nɪ* (in the hop).
Buesh *wa:tʊ* (people), *msi:tʊ* (forest) but *msitu:ni* (in the forest).

17. There is also a tendency to pronounce the "weak" variety in stressed syllables before nasal compounds, as well as in less defined contexts.

Ramadhani *vʊ'ndʒa* (break), *tʊ'mbo* (belly), *vʊ:ta* (pull).
Barwani *ʊ:fa* (crack).
Hamisi *ʊ:za* or *u:za* (sell), *weʊ:si* (black—people), *ŋgʊ:ja* or *ŋgu:ja* (Zanzibar).
Buesh *mʊ'ŋgʊ* (God), *fʊ'ndi* (expert) but *kʊfundi:fwa* (to be educated), *kʊ'mbe* (behold), **nʊ:sʊ* (half), **ßʊndʊ:ki* (gun).

Here again English learners of Swahili tend to use the lax vowel in *all* unstressed syllables, etc.

18. Here again, too, confusion between lax ʊ and *o* is to be noticed in old writings. Taylor §140n. recommends "*au*" for "*ao*" or, and in §384n. *malimau* for *malimao* (lemons.) The latest spelling is *au* and *malimau*. Note also his *soruali* already referred to (§14).

19. It should also be noted here that the alternation between *u* and ʊ is sporadic, and bears no relationship to the "heavy" *û* and "light" *u* of Bantu philology.[3] Compare:

[1] African Aphorisms §119n. Taylor speaks for Mombasa Swahili. But note, in *mɪza* (swallow) with alternative form *mɛza*, two separate phonemes are concerned.

[2] *ī* is the current symbol for the sound represented by *e* in Miss Armstrong's *Phonetic and Tonal Structure of Kikuyu*.

[1] Here again the diphthongization so often heard in Southern English (making the word sound almost like "fuel") should be avoided.

[2] English speakers should be careful to pronounce a pure vowel before *r*, and not make the word rhyme with "fury."

[3] Meinhof was forced to the same opinion in 1904 regarding both *i* and *u*, though he claimed that with some speakers a difference could still be heard (*Linguistische Studien in Ostafrika—Suaheli*, M S.O.S. Vol. VII, Part 3, pp. 201-216); this difference he admits could equally well be ascribed to the nature of the preceding consonant, since the originally "heavy" vowels occur in the syllables *fu, vu, fi, si, fi, ji, zi, vi* only (i.e. after labial and palatal fricatives).

B. *tûma* Sotho *ruma* Kikuyu *tũma* Swahili *fuma* (pierce).

B. *tuma* Sotho *roma* Kikuyu *tũma*[1] Swahili *tuma* (send).

The semi-open vowels

e

20. The most common "strong" variety of this phoneme has a position mid-way between Cardinal vowels 2 and 3, and similar to the vowel in Southern English "head." In this portion alone the symbol ɛ will be employed for this variety, which occurs predominantly in stressed syllables, e.g.

Ramadhani: *ɟɛˑŋga* (build), *tʃɛːza* (play), *tɛˑndɛ* (date), *pɛˑnda* (love), *βɛːga* (shoulder), *dɛːgɛ*, (big bird), *teˑnda* (do), *tɛːta* (quarrel).

Barwani *lɛːte* (bring), **kwa hɛːri* (good bye), *pɛːwa* (given).

Hamisi *ɛˑnda* (go), **hɛːri* (better), **pɛːsa* (money), *tʃɛːza* (play), *tɛːna* (also), *lɛːɔ* (today), *kɛːfo* (tomorrow), *wɛːza* (be able) *wɛˑŋgi* (many), *wɛːtu* (our—people), *vyɛːma* (good), *sɛːma* (say), *wɛːwɛ* (you).

This variety rarely occurs in unstressed syllables, and then usually in the neighbourhood of another semi-open vowel:

(final)	(initial)
tɛˑndɛ (elephantiasis),	*gɛrɛːza* (goal),
kɔˑndɛ (field),	*nyɛkuˑndu* (red—nasal class),
ŋ̲ːgɛ (scorpion),	
palɛpaːlɛ (there)	
wɛːwɛ (you).	

21. In unaccented syllables a more close "weak" variety, approximate to French "*é*," is usually heard.[2]

	(final)	(initial)
Ramadhani	*duːdɛ* ("what-you-call-it")	*umesɛːma* (you have said)
	n̲ːdʒe (outside)	
	tuːpe (give us)[3]	

[1] *ũ* is represented by *o* by Miss Armstrong.

[2] Its articulation however is far less tense than in French, and there is often a degree of centralization.

[3] Subjunctive suffix *-e* usually has this value.

	(final)	(initial)
Barwani	*lɛːte* (bring)[1]	*vyeuːpe* (white —*vi* class)
	yaːke (his—nasal class)	*vyeŋgiːne* (others)
	watʃaːtʃe (few—people)	
Hamisi	*m̲falme* (king)	
	uːle (that—tree)	
	ŋ̲guruːwe (pig)	

22. There is also a tendency to pronounce this "weak" variety in stressed syllables before *-m-* or *-mb-* Ramadhani normally says:

pheˑmbe (corner), *geːma* (tap tree), *theˑmbo* (elephant), *teˑmbo* (palm beer), *ɟeˑmbe* (hoe), though *theˑmbo*, *teˑmbo*, *ɟeˑmbɛ* have also been pronounced by him.

23. Note the following examples of the "weak" variety, however, in which it often alternates with the "strong" variety, even with the same speaker:

Ramadhani *pheːpo* (spirit), *βeːβa* (carry on back), *tʃheːtʃe* (sparks),

Barwani *n̲dʒeːma* (good), *peˑnda* (love),

Hamisi *yeːye* (he), *peˑnda* (love), *maneːno* (words), *peleːka* (take), *kiŋgereːza* (English)

also: *eːnda*, *peːsa*, *tʃeːza*, *teːna*, *leːo*, *keːfo*, *weːza*, *weˑŋgi*, *weːtu*, *vyeːma*, *seːma*, *weːwe* (see §18 above).

The Imperative ending *-eni*, and the Applied suffix *-ea* usually have the "weak" variety.

Note that in Buesh's record the vowel is nearly always *e*, and there is hardly any variation.

24. The tongue position of "weak" *e* is very close to that of "weak" ɪ, and confusion has consequently arisen in earlier writings. See above §14. Note also that Taylor, §425n gives both "k'ete" and "k'iti" (kind of cowrie) now written *kete*.

o

25. The most common "strong" variety of this phoneme has a position mid-way between Cardinal vowels 6 and 7, similar to the vowel in Southern English "awe." In this portion alone

[1] Subjunctive suffix *-e* usually has this value.

the symbol ɔ will be employed for this variety, which occurs predominantly in stressed syllables. e.g.

Ramadhani *khɔˈmbɛ* (oyster, shell), *n̲dɔːɔ* (bucket), *ɓɔːga* (pumpkin), *ɗɔːɗɔ* (mango), *ɟɔːtɔ* (heat), *gɔːgɔ* (log), *khɔˈmba* (a monkey), *phɔːpɔ* (bat), *ŋɔːnda* (a fish), *kɔːnda* (grow thin), *tʃɔːka* (be tired).

Barwani **hɔːɗi* (a greeting), *ɗɔːgo* (small), *ŋ̲gɔːma* (drum).

Hamisi **sɔkɔːni* (market), *ɔːna* (see).

This variety rarely occurs in unstressed syllables, and then usually in the neighbourhood of another semi-open vowel: But the following examples have been heard:

(final)	(initial)
ŋ̲gɔːgɔ (a fish)	**kɔfiːa* (hat)
mˈakɔːmbɔ (crumbs)	**sɔkɔːni* (market)
ɟɛːŋgɔ (building)	*pɔpɔːa* (knock down)
mtʃaˈŋgɔ (collection)	
paˈmbɔ (ornament)	
maːtʃo (eyes)	
waːɔ (theirs)	
kiːkɔ (pipe)	
kiːtɔ (jewel).	

26. In unstressed syllables a "weak" variety, approximate to French or Scotch *o* is usually heard.[1]

(final)	(initial)
Ramadhani	
m̲ːto (river, pillow)	*pombɔːɔ* (porpoise)
ɟiːtʃo (eye)	*gombaːna* (quarrel)
ɟaˈmbo (affair)	*ɟoŋgɔːɔ* (millipede)
ŋ̲gaːo (shield)	
tʊˈmbo (belly)	
yuːko (he is there)	
Barwani	
laːko (your, *li-* class)	*ponyoːka* (fall)
ɗaːpo (there)	
viɟiːko (spoons)	
leːo (today)	

[1] It is in such contexts that the Southern English *o*-diphthong, as in "potato," is mostly heard among English speakers of Swahili, who should pay great attention to pronouncing the pure vowel here.

(final)	(initial)
Hamisi	
haːpo[1] (there)	**hoɗaːri* (clever)
huːko (there)	*mombaːsa* (Mombasa)
n̲diːo (it is)	*wanaofanya*[1] (who do)
uːso (face)	*onaːna* (meet)
haːo (these—people)	

27. There is also a tendency to pronounce this "weak" variety in stressed syllables before nasal compounds,[2] as in:

Ramadhani *koˈmbo* (man's name), *kiɗoˈnda* (sore), *utoˈmvu* (sap),

Barwani *vikoˈmbe* (cups), *vyoˈmbo* (utensils).

28. Note the following examples of the "weak" variety, however, in which it often alternates with the "strong" variety.

Ramadhani *n̲dʒoːo* (Come!), *kutoːa* (to give away), *m̲tʃoːkɔ* (tiredness) *cp. tʃɔːka* (be tired), *ɗoːgo* or *ɗɔːgɔ* (small).

Barwani *ŋ̲goːma* or *ŋ̲gɔːma* (drum), *toːka* (go out), *nyoːka* (snakę).

Hamisi *moːto* (fire), *oːna* or *ɔːna* (see), *m̲moːɟa* (one—man), *m̲toːto* (child), *nairoːbi* (Nairobi), **ɓaloːzi* (commissioner), *toːa* (give out), *toːka* (come out).

Note that in Buesh's record the vowel is nearly always *o*, and there is hardly any variation.

29. The tongue position of "weak" *o*, it should be noted, is very close to that of "weak" ʊ, and confusion has consequently arisen in earlier writings. See above §19. Taylor further, §159, tries to distinguish between the *o* of "uwongo" (mud) and "uwongo" (lie), maintaining that the first is longer and more open.

The open vowel

a

30. This vowel lies between Cardinal Vowels 4 and 5 (though nearer to 4), and has the value heard in most Bantu languages, the acoustic effect of which being to Europeans that of Italian "*a*."

[1] The *o-* root, whether used as a suffix or as a relative prefix, has usually the "weak" value.

[2] There is a tendency among English speakers to pronounce the vowel here as in "sombre," "ponder," etc. The vowel never has this value in Swahili.

la:la (lie down), **safa:ri* (journey), *pata:na* (agree).

31. When occurring after *w* or compounds with *w*, however, it tends, with some speakers, to have a tongue position near Cardinal Vowel 5, and to sound like the "*ah*" of English, or even like the "*o*" in English "not."

Ramadhani *tʃa:wa* (louse).

Barwani **kwa hɛ:ri* (good bye), *ku:ɓwa* (big), but *ɓwa:na* (master).

Hamisi *kwa'ŋgu* (my—ku-class), *kwa'nza* (first), *mwa'nzo* (beginning). Hamisi also said *fa'nya* or even *fa͡a'nya* for *'fanya* (do).

32. In the neighbourhood of velarized consonants, and elsewhere in speech with an Arabic bias,[1] a similar sound may be heard, or even a diphthong *a͡a* or *a͡a*.

Ramadhani *maka:a* or *maqa:a* (coals), *wɛ:ka* or *wɛ:qa* (put), *mʃi'ŋga* or *mʃi'ŋGa* (fool), **ta:a* (a fish), **sulta:ni* (the Sultan)[2]

Buesh **taya:ri* (ready).

33. In unstressed syllables a variety similar to the sound in English "*a*gain" or "sof*a*" may occasionally be heard.

This is also the tendency with English learners as regards *all* such unstressed syllables in Swahili, and it should not be encouraged.

Ramadhani **sa:na* or *sa:nə* (merely), **haba:ri* or *həba:rɪ* (news).

Barwani *tʃaku:lə* (food), *ndʒe:mə* (good), *kase'mə na:nɪ* . — ' \ , (who spoke?)

Hamisi **ɓəri:di* (cold), **kwa səɓa:ɓu* (because), *kutəza:ma* (to watch), *pəhali* (place).

Buesh **ka'ɓisə* (completely).

Occasionally the sound is fronted to sound like *e*, *ɛ* or even *æ*, in unstressed syllables in rapid speech.

Barwani *vyombo vye tʃa:ɪ* — ' · \ , for *vyombo vya tʃa:i* (tea things).

[1] It is a mark of culture in Swahili to pronounce Arabic loan words with a pronunciation as near the original as possible. This is very noticeable in Buesh's record.

[2] Note that *Sulta:ni* (a man's name, and not a title is pronounced with normal *a* by Ramadhani.

Hamisi **ɓalo:zi* or *ɓelo:zi* for *ɓalo:zi* (commissioner), *kupigæ mpi:ra* for *kupiga mpi:ra* (to play football).

Buesh *kwa' ʃitiha'de ya:ke* (by his effort) — · · — . — ' for **ʃitiha'a*.

Vowel length

34. Although not all stressed syllables are pronounced long in Swahili, long vowels are essentially dependent on stress, and are consequently never heard in unstressed syllables. Vowel length is not significant as in Kikuyu, and may be observed most frequently in the penultimate syllable of a word or phrase.[1]

msi:tu (forest), *msitu:ni* (in the forest), *ku:la* (to eat), *kula:na* (to eat one another).

35. Where the stressed syllable is followed by a syllable beginning with a nasal compound, length in the vowel is not so noticeable, being taken up probably by the resonant nasal element.

mga'ŋga (doctor), *kupe'nda* (to love), *kho'mba* (a monkey).

This is especially to be noticed in words where the "weak" varieties of *i* and *u* are used.

lɪ'nda or *lɪnda* (guard), *tʊ'mbo* or *tʊmbo* (belly).

36. As soon as the speaker begins to speak quickly or excitedly, however, the penultimate vowel loses most of its length, though not its stress.

wenda:pi ' \ , or *wenda'pi* ' — , (where are you going?)

In the middle of a phrase or sentence the penultimate syllables of words lose their length and very often their stress as well, unless there is a shifting of emphasis.

Compare: *nitaku:ʃa.* — ' \ , (I shall come), *nitakuʃa ke:ʃo.* — ' — ' \ , or ' ' ' ' \ , (I shall come tomorrow).

Note shifting of emphasis in *siʃi te:na* ' ' \ , and *si:ʃi te'na* \ . — . (I am not coming again), with consequent change of implication.

[1] The penultimate syllable of Swahili speech is never pronounced with the same degree of length as found in Zulu or Sotho. The normal pronunciation of the English word "seedy" should give an indication of the amount of length and stress the learner should give to the Swahili words set out here.

37. As stated earlier (§6) certain words have their stress on the antepenultimate syllable, but there is little or no corresponding vowel length in these cases. Compare:

ka'tika -˙. or ·˙. (in) and *kati:ka* ·˙ (to be cut).

38. In certain types of question, as well as in certain types of subordinate sentence, the main stress is on the final syllable. In such cases the vowel in this syllable is pronounced long; the penultimate syllable may be pronounced long or short.

nile'te: .¯) (Shall I bring it?)
alipofi'ka: .·· ¯ / (When he arrived..)

Nasalization

39. Vowels in syllables beginning with a nasal consonant (especially *m-*) are often nasalized:

tʃamũ:a (yawn), *kikɔ:mɔ̃* (end), *ki:mɔ̃* (height)

40. Vowels in stressed syllables followed by a syllable beginning with *nz-* are also occasionally nasalized. Sometimes the nasalization is so strong that the nasal element of the compound is assimilated.

tʃɛ̃:za for *tʃɛ'nza* (an orange),
dã:zi for *da'nzi* (an orange),
gã:zi for *ga'nzi* (numbness).

But note *fu'nza* with alternative pronounciation *fu'ndza* (teach), derived from *funda*.

Unvoiced or whispered vowels

41. A final unstressed vowel, especially when following an unvoiced consonant, may often be whispered. This is particularly the case with the vowels *-i* and *-u*, as in:

*matu:s*i (insults), **ɓa:k*i (remnant),
*yo:t*e (all—*mi-* class)
*gu:m*u (hard), *gugu:m*u (bad smell), *utʃa:f*u (dirt), *uto'mv*u[1] (slime).

Unstressed vowels in the middle of a word may also be unvoiced. Here the stress is so slight that the vowels are often barely articulated. In the word **motakaa* (=motor-car), for instance, there is a very common pronounciation in which voicing is heard only in the *-kaa* part of the word.[2]

kuʃndana has also been heard as the reciprocal form of *kuʃinda* (to conquer).

[1] Where both *v* and *u* are unvoiced.

Elision of "extra" vowels

42. Many Arabic words, when borrowed into Swahili, are given an extra vowel for the sake of the rhythm. This vowel, however, is especially liable to the slurred over or elided, particularly by those who cultivate an Arabic accent. Examples:

Extra vowel after a final consonant:—
**ɓa:si* or *ɓas* (enough), **mwali:mu* or *mwalim* (teacher), **ɗa:mu* or *ɗam* (blood).
Extra vowel between two consonants:—
**aɣala:ɓu* or *aɣla:ɓu* (as a rule),
**kuʃita:ki* or *kuʃta:ki* or *kʃta:ki* (to accuse).

Diphthongs

43. Diphthongs in Swahili fall into two types:

Rising diphthongs of the type: *a* + *i*, *a* + *u*, etc., with the more sonorous element first. These diphthongs occur only in words of foreign origin, notably Arabic:

**la͡ini* (smooth), **ze͡itu:ni* (olive tree), **ʃa͡uri* (affair).

Falling diphthongs of the type: *i* + *a*, *u* + *a*, etc., with the less sonorous element first. These diphthongs occur predominantly in words of Bantu origin:

mio͡:yo or *myo:yo* (hearts), *mu͡a:a* or *mwa:a* (dwarf palm).

Rising diphthongs will be discussed in detail later under "Foreign sounds in Swahili."

Since the falling diphthong is only one result of the coming together of two distinct vowels, it will be discussed in detail later under "Vowel assimilation, coalescence and elision."

In examples like the following the sound is invariably dissyllabic:

[2] A similar, but as yet unrecorded, phenomenon exists in English in a sentence like:—"Go to Trafalgar Square," which conventional phonetics would have us write:— "gou tə trəfælgə skwɛə," whereas the vowels in the syllables "to" and "Tra-" usually have no voice at all. (Example furnished by Mr. R. T. Butlin).

kuva:a (to dress)	***kuli:a*** (to weep)
siva:i (I do not dress)	***sili:i*** (I don't weep)
niva:e (let me dress)	***nili:e*** (let me weep)
mva:o (style)	***kili:o*** (weeping)
kutu:a (set down)	***situ:i*** (I do not set down)
nitu:e (let me set down)	***kitu:o*** (resting place)

CONSONANTS

PLOSIVES

Note: From here onwards the vowel symbols ɪ ʊ ɛ ɔ *a ə* will not be used, owing to their optional alternation with *i u e o a*, as already described. Students are advised, in cases of uncertainty, to give to the vowel symbols here used the values set out in §7. Similarly length marks will not be used here, except when considered important, and students will normally pronounce the penultimate syllable in each example long, with falling tone.

44. The following table gives the main consonants of Zanzibar Swahili:—

	Labial	*Labio-dental*	*Dental*	*Alveolar*	*Post-alv.*	*Palatal*	*Velar*	*Glottal*
Explosive unvoiced	*p*		(*t̪*)	*t*			*k*	(')
aspirated	*ph*			*th*			*kh*	
voiced (in nasal compounds)	*mb*		(*d̪*)	*nd*			*ŋg*	
Affricate unvoiced					*tʃ*			
aspirated					*tʃh*			
voiced (in nasal compounds)				(*ndz*)	*ndʒ*			
Implosive	*ɓ*			*ɗ*		*ʄ*	*ɠ*	
Fricative unvoiced		*f*	*θ*	*s*	*ʃ*		(*x*)	*h*
voiced	*v*	*v*	*dh*	*z*			*ɣ*	
Nasal stop	*m*			*n*		*ny*	*ŋ*	
Liquid rolled				*r*				
lateral				*l*				
Semi-vowel	*w*					*y*		

45. The above table represents all the sounds required in "correct" standardized Swahili speech of the present day. It is considered a mark of culture, however, to reproduce as far as possible the Arabic "emphatic" and post-velar sounds *sad*, *dhad*, *t(h)a*, *dha*, *hha*, *kaf* in words borrowed from that language. These sounds have so captured the imaginations of many Swahili speakers, however, that they sometimes introduce them and similar pronunciations, not only into Arabic words which never before had them, but even into authentic Bantu words; this practice can only be regarded as an affectation.

The following additional sounds have been heard:—

s pronounced with simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue, imitative of Arabic *sad*.

t pronounced dentally and with simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue, imitative of Arabic *t(h)a*.

dh pronounced with simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue, imitative of Arabic *dhad* and *dha*.

l pronounced with simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue.

h pronounced with faucal 'scrape,' imitative of Arabic *hha*.

k (phon. *q*) pronounced with post-velar articulation, imitative of Arabic *kaf*.

g pronounced with post-velar articulation, on the analogy of *q*.

Speakers with no Arabic bias in their pronunciation pronounce *s t dh l h k g*.

The unvoiced explosive consonants (including the affricate tʃ)

46. *p*, *t*, *tʃ* and *k* are pronounced with the tongue position of English *p*, *t*, *tʃ* and *k*, i.e. *t* is alveolar and *tʃ* post-alveolar with accompanying lip-rounding;[1] the manner of articulation, however, is more like the French explosives, i.e. the sounds are not normally aspirated (but see §55).

According to Meinhof (op. cit. p. 206) they are pronounced with accompanying glottal closure in careful speech; this was not so in the case of our informants.

(stressed)

p	*piga*	(hit)
	penda	(love)
	pata	(get)
	pota	(twist)
	pumu	(lung)

(unstressed)

pigana	(fight)	*kipi*	(which?—thing)
pendeza	(please)	*tupe*	(give us!)
patana	(agree)	*epa*	(dodge)
potoka	(be crooked)	**kopo*	(cup)
pumua	(breathe)	*-tupu*	(empty

(stressed)

t	*tia*	(put)
	**tena*	(again)
	tanda	(spread)
	toa	(put out)
	tupa	(throw away)

(unstressed)

tikisa	(shake)	*miti*	(trees)
tembea	(stroll)	*mkate*	(loaf)
tafuna	(chew)	*leta*	(bring)
tolewa	(be put forward)	*mto*	(pillow)
tupia	(throw at)	*-tatu*	(three)

[1] In Mombasa Swahili the sound is more palatal than in English, and Taylor also notes this (Burt *Swahili Grammar* p. 12).
Meinhof (p. 206-7) maintains that there are two kinds of *tʃ*- sound in good Swahili speech, palatal *'tž* derived from UrBantu *k̲* as in *-'žungu* (bitter), and *'tj*, pronounced further back, derived from the contracted *ki-* prefix, as in *'tjungu* (pot). Our informants made no such distinction.

(stressed)

tʃ	*tʃimba*	(dig)
	tʃeka	(laugh)
	tʃafya	(sneeze)
	tʃoma	(pierce)
	tʃuki	(bad temper)

(unstressed)

tʃimbua	(dig out)	*tʃikitʃi*	(palm oil nut)
tʃekelea	(laugh at)	*mitʃe*	(seedlings)
tʃamua	(yawn)	*fitʃa*	(hide)
tʃomoa	(draw out)	*matʃo*	(eyes)
tʃukia	(hate)	*utʃatʃu*	(fermentation)

(stressed)

k	*kiŋga*	(parry)
	keʃo	(tomorrow)
	kana	(deny)
	kosa	(err)
	kua	(grow)

(unstressed)

kimbia	(run away)	*sitaki*	(I don't want)
kemea	(scold)	*-ake*	(his)
kamua	(press)	*taka*	(want)
kohoa	(cough)	*mtʃoko*	(tiredness)
kumbuka	(recollect)	*siku*	(day)

Notes on the consonant t

47. It would appear that an alternative pronounciation of *t* with a *dental* tongue position (as opposed to the more common *alveolar* position) is permissible, and the following examples were heard in the pronunciation of Ramadhani:

ṯaka (dirt), *khaṯa* (cut), *ṯaṯuwa* or *tatuwa* (tear), *paṯa* or *pata* (get), *ṯaka* or *taka* (want), *mṯo* (pillow).

48. Taylor (Burt, *Swahili Grammar*, p. 13) maintains that all *t*- words borrowed from Arabic are pronounced with a dental *ṯ* (which he writes italicized) as opposed to the *t* in words of Bantu origin. Ramadhani pronounces most Arabic borrowings with dental *ṯ*:

**zeiṯuni* (olive), **ṯini* (fig), **mṯini* (fig-tree), **ṯhaa* (kind of fish), **ṯaa* or *taa* (lamp).

Buesh however, pronounced all Arabic borrowings with alveolar *t*:

**hata* (until), **binti* (daughter), **tafadhali* (please), **sita* (six), **wakati* (time), **jitihada*

(effort), **natafuta* (I search for); and so do Barwani and Hamisi.

From this it may be safely deduced that the dental articulation is an optional and less popular alternative to the alveolar articulation in words of Bantu origin, but perhaps more popular in words of Arabic origin, especially in Mombasa. Either articulation, however, may be be used at will, no matter what the word may be.

49. The foregoing, it should be noted, also applies to certain words of Bantu origin (derived from UrB. palatalized *ṯ*) which in Mombasa Swahili are pronounced with a dental *t̪*. e.g.

-tano (five), *tafuna* (chew), *toa* (produce), *toka* (come out).

It also applies to certain other words (derived from UrB. palatalized *k̠*, which are also pronounced with a dental *t̪* in Mombasa, though here the normal Zanzibar form is with *tʃ*. e.g.

tafu (calf of leg), as well as *tʃafu* and *ʃavu*; *kitinda mimba* (youngest born), as well as *kitʃindʒa mimba*; *kesho kutwa* (day after tomorrow), as well as *kesho kutʃwa*; *kitana* (comb), but *tʃana* (to separate).

These words represent a Zanzibar adoption of Mombasa forms.

50. As stated earlier (§45), it is considered a mark of culture to pronounce Arabic borrowings in "*ta*" with a degree of velarization, i.e. simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue. When this happens, the articulation of the *t*-element is dental.

Ramadhani *t*ii* (obey), *t(ɔ)*aa* (man's name), **sultani* (Sultan)[1]

Buesh **tayari* and *tayari* (ready), *sultani* (Sultan)

Barwani pronounces normal *t*: **tayari* (ready), **rat(t)ili* pound.

Taylor does not differentiate between Arabic borrowings in "*ta*" (*t*) and those in "*t(h)a*," writing both with italicized *t*, though he refers to the latter type of sound (Burt p. 15) under the category: "Arabic sounds occasionally used."

[1] Note that Ramadhani sharply differentiates this word from *sultani* (a man's name) with normal *t*.

Note on the consonant k

51. It is also a mark of culture to pronounce with a post-velar articulation words in which the original Arabic consonant was "*kaf*" (*q*). This was particularly noticeable in the pronunciation of Ramadhani, who occasionally introduced this sound into Bantu words.

Ramadhani **qima* (size, measurement)
weqa or *weka* (put), *maqaa* or *makaa* (coals).

Note on the glottal explosive

52. The glottal explosive is not a basic speech sound; it may be inserted at will to prevent vowel slurring, or for the purpose of emphasis:

wakati 'u:le · ‾ · \ ₁ (at that time); *ku'u:a* (to kill).

When great emphasis is required, the glottal stop may come at the end of a syllable, cutting it off abruptly:

la' (no); *tu'* (only).

It is often used for "*alif*" or "*ain*" in words of Arabic origin, though here it may just as conveniently be omitted.

'ali (Ali), *ndʒoo sa'a* or *saa* (hurry up!)

The aspiration of the unvoiced explosives

53. Aspiration in Swahili is a difficult phenomenon to determine, because it is governed by two factors, philology and stress, with the result that it tends to differ from individual to individaul.

The philological factor

54. Aspiration is a semantic phenomenon in that words can be and are differentiated in meaning by the degree of aspiration in their unvoiced consonants. The following doublets, for instance, were taken from Ramadhani:

phaka	(cat)	*paka*	(smear)
thembo	(elephant)	*tembo*	(palm beer)
tʃhaŋgu	(a fish)	*tʃaŋgu*	(my—thing)
khombe	(oyster shell)	*kombe*	(bowl);

and the following from Barwani:

phaa	(gazelle)	*paa*	(roof)
thaa	(skate-fish)	**taa*	(lamp)
tʃhatʃu	(yeast)	*utʃafu*	(dirt)
khaa	(crab)	*kaa*	(coal)

Philologically these aspirated consonants correspond to the unvoiced explosives preceded by the cognate nasal in other Bantu languages, as many authorities on Swahili have already noticed:

cp. Zulu *impala* (gazelle), *impaka* (cat), *inkala* (crab).

The stress factor

55. In Swahili, as in English, there is a strong tendency to aspirate unvoiced explosives, whatever their origin, in stressed syllables, and not to aspirate them in unstressed syllables.[1] Thus Ramadhani often pronounces the imperative forms of the verbs *kupamba* (to adorn), *kutanda* (to spread), *kutʃeza* (to play), *kuɗakiza* (to interrupt), as *phamba*, *thanda*, *tʃheza*, *ɗakhiza*; whereas in *watu* (philologically *wathu*)[2] neither he nor any other of our informants pronounced any aspiration at all, because the syllable was unstressed.

56. For the purpose of this study, and in order to deal with each governing factor, aspiration will here be discussed under four heads, and will mainly be confined to the pronunciation of our informants.

(a) Philologically aspirated consonants in stressed syllables:

57. These occur predominantly in nouns of the *n*- class[3] (singular or plural), and in adjectives in agreement therewith. Here aspiration is general, since both the philological factor and the stress factor[4] favour it. The following examples are from Ramadhani:

phaka (cat), *phaa* (antelope), *phepo* (wind), *phembe* (horn), *phapa* (shark), *phanda* (forked branch, etc.), *phemba* (Pemba Island).

thaka (dirt), *thembo* (elephant), *thende* (date), *thupa* (file).

tʃhatʃu (yeast), *tʃhawa* (louse), *tʃhui* (leopard), *tʃhupa* (bottle), *tʃhuku* (cupping horn), *tʃhuki* (ill humour), *tʃhaza* (oyster), *tʃhumvi* (salt).

khaŋga (guineafowl), *khomba* (kind of monkey), *khombe* (oyster shell), *khima* (kind of monkey), *khutʃa* (nails), *khutu* (nest).

58. Not all *n*- class nouns are aspirated, however, as the following examples from Burt and Taylor show. Compare these with pronunciations heard from our informants:—

[Burt]		[Taylor]	
pekeyangu	(by myself)	pweke	*peke yaŋgu*
pishi	(a measure)	pishi	
*t*amu	(sweetness)	*t*amu	
kazi	(work)	kazi	*kazi*
kweli	(truth)	kweli	*kweli*
but:			[Ramadhani]
pamba	(cotton)	kat'a (Binns)	*phamba*
kata	(ladle)		*khata*
kwapa	(arm pit)		*khwapa*

Occasionally, however, these early authorities differ (note aspiration in a few words outside the *n*- class)[1]:—

[Burt]		[Taylor]	
papa	(shark)	p'apa	*phapa*
panya	(rat)	p'anya	
pindi	(appointed time)	p'indi	
pwani	(shore)	p'wani	
kipungu	(osprey)	kip'ungu	
kitanda	(bed)	kit'anda	*kitanda*
kiu	(thirst)	k'iu	*kiu*

(b) Philologically unaspirated consonants in stressed syllables:

59. Here there is great variation according to speaker or occasion, and it must not be imagined that the tendency to aspirate all unvoiced explosives in stressed syllables is a fixed rule in Swahili pronunciation. Barwani, as a matter of fact, makes a careful distinction between the philologically aspirated and the philologically unaspirated consonants in stressed syllables, and rarely aspirates the latter, no matter what emphasis he puts on the word in question. We note, however, his pronunciation *vyekhundu* (red—things) instead of *vyekundu*; in one of his records. Ramadhani, on the other hand, is much more slipshod in his pronunciation, and the following

[1] Compare the p's in *purr* and *leper*, the t's in *too* and *into*, the tʃ's in *cheese* and *inches*, the k's in *cur* and *onlooker*.

[2] cp. Zulu *abantu*.

[3] Class III (Steere and Burt), Classes IX and X (Bleek and Meinhof).

[4] Most nouns in this class being dissyllabic with the stress on the first syllable.

[1] Note that Burt's errors are invariably those of omission (some may be printer's errors), while Taylor's, when they occur, are mostly of commission.

examples of aspiration (apart from the imperative of verbs) we heard:

matʃhaŋgo (intestinal worms), *tʃukutʃʰuku* (salad), *utʃokotʃʰoko* (nagging), *tʃ(h)uŋgu* (pot), *kʰomwe* (counter in game), *kikʰombe* (cup), *kijikʰomba* (little monkey), *mkhuŋgu* (a fruit tree), *nyekʰundu* (red—fruit), *mṯʰini* (in a tree), cp. *mti* (tree), *msitʰuni* (in the forest) cp. *msitu* (forest).

He even aspirated words of foreign origin on occasions:—

**ṯʰaa* pl. *maṯ(h)aa* (kind of fish), **ṯ(h)aa* (lamp), **mṯ(h)ini* (fig tree), **zeiṯhuni* (olive), **kʰima* (height).

The following cases of aspiration were also heard from Buesh:—

taʒa and *tʰaʒa* (mention), *msitʰunī* (in the forest) cp. *msitu* (forest), *tʰena* (again), *tʰatu* and *tatu* (third);

and from Hamisi: *tʰena* (again), *nikaphita* (I wanted), *kʰama* (if).

60. But even with Ramadhani the majority of words in this category were aspirated, as following examples show:

Unataka (Do you want?) *Una thakathaka* (You are dirty). *Nnataka niwe na thaka* (I want to be dirty).

Utʃaf(u) unaleta tʃhawa (Dirt brings lice).

Tʃhawa (h)upenda utʃafu (Lice love dirt).

Tʃuŋgu hiki kinapika nyama tʃhuŋgu (This pot cooks bitter meat).

But: *Tʃhupa*[1] *ʃu(u) ya tʃhupa* (Step over the bottle).

61. A sometimes confusing factor is the differentiation between *n*-class and *li*-class nouns beginning with unvoiced explosives. Theoretically the augmentative of any noun beginning with an aspirated consonant may be formed by not aspirating this consonant; the augmentative noun then belongs to the *li*-class (the *li-* prefix being elided). Thus:

n-class:		*li*-class:	
phembe	(horn)	*pembe*	(large horn)
thundu	(hole)	*tundu*	(large hole)
tʃhuŋgwa	(small orange)	*tʃuŋgwa*	(large orange)
khuta pl. of *ukuta*	(walls)	*kuta*	(large wall)

[1] Aspiration due to stress.

This rule, however, is not rigidly kept; Barwani, for instance, pronounces both *khamba* and *kamba* (rope)[1] with concords of the nasal class, while Buesh pronounces *tʃatu* (python) with the concord that normally goes with *tʃhatu*.[2]

(c) Philologically aspirated consonants in unstressed syllables:

62. Here a distinction must be made between initial unstressed syllables and final unstressed syllables. The former are to be found in trisyllabic or polysyllabic words including the locative forms of dissyllabic nouns, and the tendency here is to preserve the aspiration. Examples from Ramadhani:

phophoo (nut for chewing), *pʰembeni* (in the corner), *tʃhuŋgutʃhuŋgu* (ants), *kʰatika* (be cut),

Compare Taylor: *t'umbiri* (monkey), *mk'ulima* (cultivator), with Burt: *tumbiri*, *mkulima*.

Aspiration in final syllables, on the other hand, is often ignored. The words concerned are a few verbs, and a certain number of nouns and adjectives with monosyllabic roots and with the stress on the class prefix. Thus:

Ramadhani: *mtu* (person), *kitʰu* (thing), *-ote* (all).
Hamisi: *mtu* and *mtʰu* (person), *watu* (people), *intʃi* (land).
Buesh: *mtu* (person), *watu* (people), *vitu* (things), *yote* and *yotʰe* (all—tree class), *wote* (all—men), *sote* (all of us), *ntʃi* and *ntʃʰi* (land).

Compare Taylor: *ruk'a* (jump), *nuk'a* (smell), *mp'wa* (beach), *up'wa* (shore), with Burt: *ruk'a nuka*, *mpwa*, *upwa*.

63. Mrs. Burt (p. 20) records a kind of metathesis in *k'itu* (thing)[3] with aspiration on the prefix; the plural form is *vit'u*. A similar phenomenon, noted by Meinhof (Bantu Phonology p. 124) is *khata* for *katha* (cut).[4]

Taylor, while writing wot'e and yot'e, etc., (=all), maintains that "this aspirate has disappeared in the form sote (=all of us) owing to

[1] Taylor and Mrs. Burt give *kamba*.
[2] i.e. personal class concord, used with animals in Swahili.
[3] Taylor also writes *k'itu*, but both write *mt'u*, *wat'u*.
[4] Both Taylor and Burt write *k'ata*. Ramadhani says *khata* but Buesh *kata*.

attraction by and absorbtion in the s." (§501n). He goes on: "The same thing has happened to the aspiration in kikorofa*ti*=little rogue of the world),[1] for *f* also possesses this property of drawing back and absorbing an aspirate in composition."

(d) Philologically unaspirated consonants in unstressed syllables

64. As may be expected, aspiration in this category is rare. Where it occurs, there seems to be no phonetic reason for it, though it seems to be most common with consonant reduplication.

Initial unstressed syllables:—

Ramadhani: **kʰahawa* (coffee), *tʃʰaŋgeni* (Collect! imp. pl.), *pʰapʰatʰika* (dither), *p̈hophoa* (knock down with a stick).

Hamisi: *pʰamoɟa* (together), *tukawapʰeleke* (and we took them).

Final unstressed syllables:

Ramadhani: *pʰapʰa* (ooze), *phop(h)o* (bat), *tʃhetʃ(h)e* (sparks), *tʃhetʃhe* (weasel), *tʃʰatʃʰu* (yeast) cp. *tʃatʃuka* (be fermented).

Buesh: *wetʰu* (our—people).

65. It is possible that the ignoring of aspiration in both the Arabic and Roman systems of Swahili writing[2] may have helped to contribute to the unsettled state of this phenomenon in the modern spoken idiom, of which the foregoing examples are typical. Certainly, any suggestion to reintroduce aspiration into the writing at some future date would need very careful consideration.

The Voiced Explosive Consonants (including the affricate *dʒ*)

66. With the exception of dental *d̤* the voiced explosive consonants are to be found only in the nasal compounds *mb*, *nd*, *ndʒ* and *ŋg*, where they correspond closely to the English sounds in lumber, thunder, danger and finger. e.g.

umba (create), *enda* (go), *ondʒa* (taste), *m̲gaŋga* (medicine-man).

See further under nasal compounds, §§118-122.

[1] Compare Taylor's and Burt's nt'i (land).

[2] With the notable exception of the early Mombasa school (typified by Taylor and Burt) and some of the German school (typified by Seidel and Meinhof).

The sounds normally written *b d j g* in Swahili are *implosive*. See §§7 et. seq.

Notes on dental *d̤*:

67. Certain words, usually of Arabic origin, are on occasions pronounced with a dental *d̤*, instead of with the more popular alveolar implosive *ɗ*. Where the sound is dental, it would seem to be pronounced explosively.

Buesh: *kad̤iri* (estimate)[1].

68. Taylor's assertion (Burt, p. 13) that all *d*-words borrowed from Arabic are pronounced with a dental *d̤* (which he writes italicized),[2] does not hold for Zanzibar Swahili, where dental *d* is rarely heard. (See §48.)

69. Note further certain words of Bantu origin derived from UrB. palatalized *ɣ*), which are also pronounced with a dental *d̤* in Mombasa, whereas the normal Zanzibar is with *dʒ*. e.g.

n̲dʒoo (come!) *M. n̲d̤oo*.

Note again *kitinda mimba* (last born) as well as *kitʃindʒa mimba*.

Note on the consonant g:

70. There is a tendency among certain speakers to pronounce a very far back *g* (on the analogy of *q*) in some words. Thus Ramadhani says:—

ɟiŋga or *ɟiŋGa* (a fool)

tʃaŋgani or *tʃanGani* (kind of drum).

The Voiced Implosive[3] Consonants

71. *ɓ* is bilabial, *ɗ* is always alveolar (never dental), *ʄ* is a pure palatal sound, produced by

[1] Pronounced with the stress on the first instead on the penultimate syllable.

[2] Though neither he, nor still less Canon Binns, writes all Arabic borrowings with italicized *d*. The proportion, however, is far larger with him than with Binns.

[3] The implosive character of these sounds has not been generally recognized. Doke (*Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, p. 291) has noticed *ɓ*, but adds that "almost every Swahili '*b*' has proved to be implosive"—thereby ignoring the *mb* compound. Meinhof (p. 209) records that he tried in vain to discover such a sound (after its existence had been pointed out to him by a Pokomo acquaintance), though he admits that *b* after *m* is different from initial *b*. Taylor (Burt pp. 9, 10) indicates that there is considerable difference between Swahili *b* and *d* and English *b* and *d*.

the middle of the tongue against the hard palate,[1] and *g* is velar.

72. Kymographic experiments have brought the following interesting points to light about these so-called "implosive" consonants in Swahili, and why it is that they may often be actually *exploded.*

In English *b*, *d*, *dʒ* and *g*, a closure is made in the mouth at the lips, teeth-ridge or velum, and air is forced against the closure. This air, during the process, is set in vibration in the larynx by the vocal chords between which it is forced. This vibration is termed "voice," and the sounds are thus "voiced" sounds. Finally, at a given time, the closure is released and the explosion is heard.

In Swahili *ɓ*, *ɗ*, *ʄ* and *ɠ*, the closure is made roughly at the same places (except that *ʄ* is palatal). But the larynx, instead of being stationary, is now forced down over the column of air in the throat, and this column of air is set in vibration by the vibration of the vocal cords, again producing "voice." The difference between the two forms of "voicing" is that in the English sounds the air is forced from the lungs through the larynx, whereas in the Swahili sounds the column of air is more or less stationary, while the larynx moves down over it. The actual release of the oral closure is of minor importance in distinguishing the two types of sound. With *ɓ*, etc., if, at the time of release, the pressure of air within the mouth is less than that outside the mouth, the sounds are *imploded;* if the pressure of air within the mouth is greater than that outside the mouth, the sounds may be actually *exploded;* if the pressure is equal, the sounds are neither imploded nor exploded, but mere articulations without breath force.[2] It is the period of the "occlusion," during the "voicing" process, which is significant.[3]

In the Swahili nasal compounds *mb*, *nd*, *ndʒ* and *ŋg*, as has already been pointed out, the sounds are *explosive* as in English, and *dʒ* is post-alveolar and not palatal.

[1] Not at all pronounced as in the English word "jump," nor in the Swahili word *ondʒa*. Swahili *j* corresponds to English *j* only in the nasal compound. See §65.

[2] This may explain Taylor's *nduu* for *ndugu* (brother) (§216)

[3] These conclusions were arrived at on the strength of kymographic experiments made with Mr. R. T. Butlin at the School of Oriental and African Studies.

73. Examples of the implosive consonants:

(stressed)		(unstressed)			
ɓitʃi	(unripe)	**ɓidii*	(effort)	**ɓiɓi*	(mistress)
ɓeɓa	(carry on back)	**ɓehewa*	(inner court)	*mɓeɓe*	(carry him)
**ɓata*	(duck)	**ɓaridi*	(cold)	*ɓaɓa*	(father)
ɓoga	(pumpkin)	**ɓoriti*	(rafter)	*mɓoɓo*	(fertility)
ɓuyu	(calabash)	**ɓunduki*	(gun)	*ɓaɓu*	(ancestor)
**ɗini*	(religion)	**ɗiriʃa*	(window)	**mɽaɗi*	(accordingly)
**ɗege*	(big bird)	**ɗemani*	(a season)	*kiɗuɗe*	(a what-you-call-it)
**ɗawa*	(medicine)	**ɗaftari*	(account book)	**muɗa*	(space of time)
-ɗogo	(small)	**ɗohani*	(chimney)	**ɓaɗo*	(not yet)
-ɗufu	(insipid)	**ɗunia*	(world)	**mɗuɗu*	(insect)
**ʄinsi*	(sort)	**ʄirani*	(neighbour)	*maʄi*	(water)
ʄeŋga	(build)	**ʄeŋgea*	(build for)	*niʄe*	(may I come)
ʄaa	(fill)	**ʄawabu*	(answer)	*kuʄa*	(to come)
ʄoto	(heat)	**ʄoŋgoo*	(millipede)	*poʄo*	(a bean)
ʄua	(know)	**ʄuana*	(know each other)	*mkwaʄu*	(tamarind tree)

giza	(darkness)	*gizani*	(in the dark)	**siagi*	(butter)
gema	(tap tree)	**gereza*	(gaol)	*ndege*	(bird)
gawa	(divide)	*gawanya*	(share out)	*koroga*	(stir)
gomba	(contradict)	*gombana*	(quarrel)	*gogo*	(log)
-gumu	(hard)	*gugumiza*	(gulp)	*ndugu*	(brother)

74. As already mentioned (§§ 66-7) a dental *ɖ* may occasionally be heard in loan words from Arabic. This sound is not pronounced with a sinking larynx, but is a plain voiced explosive as in East Coast Arabic or as in a French.

The great majority of Arabic *d*-words, however, are pronounced with the Swahili "implosive" articulation, and the same applies to oriental loan words in *b* and *dʒ* (the East Coast rendering of Arabic "*jim*") and *g*.

**ɓila* (without), **ɗeni* (debt), **ɟoho* (long loose coat), **gati* (pier).

The Fricative Consonants

75. In this section, for convenience, consonants will be discussed according to their position of articulation, voiced and unvoiced consonants being treated together.

Bilabial

76. A voiced bilabial fricative *v* has been heard instead of *w* in certain words in the pronunciation of many speakers.[1]

va or *wa* (verb to be), *gava* or *gawa* (divide). See further §110.

Labio-dental

77. *f* and *v* are pronounced as in English, the *v* being not very strongly voiced.

(stressed)

fika	(arrive)
**fedha*	(silver)
fanya	(do)
fora	(beat at cards)
fuga	(breed)
vimba	(swell)
vaa	(dress)
vuka	(cross)

[1] Such words are mostly traceable to *v* rather than to *w* in UrBantu.

(unstressed)

fikiſa	(cause to arrive)	*mlafi*	(glutton)
**fedheha*	(shame)	*ɓafe*	(puff-adder)
fagia	(sweep)	*kifafa*	(epilepsy)
**for(o)sadi*	(mulberry)	*kifo*	(death)
fumbata	(grasp)	*utſafu*	(dirt)
vimbika	(become swollen)	*mwivi*	(robber)
valia	(dress up)	*iva*	(ripen)
vukiſa	(take across)	*-ovu*	(bad)

Dental

78 *θ* (corresponding to the "*th*" of English "*thin*") and *dh*[1] (corresponding to the "*th*" of English "*then*") are heard in many words of Arabic origin, and are normally easy for the average Swahili speaker to pronounce.

Ar. "*tha*"

(stressed)

**θelaθi:ni*	(thirty)
**waθam(m)a*	(likewise)
θu'm(u)ni	(an eighth)

(unstressed)

**θeluʃi*	(snow)	**hadiθi*	(story)
**θaɓiti*	(resolute)	**θelaθa*	(three)
**θuɓutu*	(dare)		

Ar. "*dhal*"

(stressed)

**dhila*	(low estate)
**dhambi*	(sin)
**dhuku*	(taste)

(unstressed)

**dhiraa*	(a measure)	
**dhamana*	(surety)	*kadha wa kadha* (etc).
**dhukuru*	(remember)	

79. The sound *dh* is also used in words in which the original Arabic sounds are "*dhad*" and "*dha*." Many Swahili speakers, how-

[1] Owing to war conditions we regret we have not available the "thorn-letter" phonetic symbol for this sound [Ed.].

ever, preserve the velarization in words from these sources in that they pronounce a velarized dh for both ;[1] this is regarded as a mark of culture, and is the most popular of the "additional" sounds. Thus :

Barwani : *adh*uhuri* (noon), Ar. "*dha*"
*a·rdhi (land), *ra:dhi (blessing),
*dharuba (blow), Ar. "*dhad*"
but *kadhi (judge).

Buesh: *afadha:li (rather), *tafadha:li and tafadha:li (please), Ar. "*dhad*"

80. Many speakers, especially those from up-country who are less in touch with Arabic culture, find it difficult to pronounce *θ* and *dh*, and substitute *s* or *t* and *z*.

*telata for *θelaθa* (three) Ar. "*tha*"
*sum(u)ni for *θum(u)ni* (an eighth) Ar. "*tha*"
*haizuru for *haidhuru* (it does'nt matter Ar. "*dhad*"
*zani for *dhani* (think) Ar. "*dha*"
*fazaika for *fadhaika* (be troubled) Ar. "*dhad*"
*awaza for *awadha* (allot), Ar. "*za*".

Alveolar

81. *s* and *z* are pronounced as in English, the voicing of the *z* being not very strong.

(stressed)

siku	(day)
sema	(say)
**saa*	(hour)
**soko*	(market)
suka	(plait)

(unstressed)

sikia	(hear)	**βasi*	(enough)
semea	(talk about)	*inuse*	(smell it)
**saβuni*	(soap)	**sasa*	(now)
sokota	(twist)	*uso*	(face)
sukua	(untwist)	**nusu*	(half)

(stressed)

ziβa	(stop up)
mzembe	(negligent)
zaa	(bear)
zoa	(gather up)
zuri	(fine)

[1] Meinhof (p. 211) maintains that the tongue tip often touches the upper lip in the pronounciation of this sound.

(unstressed)

ziβua	(unstop)	*nazi*	(coconut)
**zeβaki*	(mercury)	*mpendeze*	(please him)
zaliwa	(be born)	*giza*	(darkness)
zoŋgoa	(unwind)	*taŋgazo*	(proclamation)
**zulia*	(carpet)	*uzuzu*	(inexperience)

z may be devoiced in an unstressed syllable before *i*, e.g. in:

ganzi (numbness), *ɗanzi* (orange).

82. In some words derived from Arabic words in "*sad*" velarization is heard, sometimes in the form of a following *w*-sound.

safi or *safi* or *swafi* (clean).

But note also the Mombasa pronunciation *$s^{w}i_{s}^{w}i$* for *sisi* (we).

Post-alveolar

83. *ʃ* is pronounced like "*sh*" in English, with accompanying lip-rounding. Before *u* the sound is occassionally palatalized to *ç* (approaching the "*ch*" of German "*ich*").[1]

(stressed)

ʃika	(hold)
**mʃenzi*	(barbarian)
**ʃamba*	(garden)
ʃoka	(axe)
ʃuka or *çuka*	(descend)

(unstressed)

ʃikia	(hold on to)	*mpiʃi*	(cook)
ʃemeji	(relation by marriage)	*kirudiʃe*	(send it back)
**ufahidi*	(testimony)	*kwiʃa*	(finish)
ʃonea	(mend for)	*mwiʃo*	(the end)
ʃukuru	(give thanks)		

Velar

84. The unvoiced velar fricative *x* is pronounced in a way similar to the "*ch*" of German "*ach*," though usually more softly. It occurs in words of Arabic origin. The Standard Swahili-English Dictionary says of the sound that it "is often used by persons imitating or influenced by Arabic pronunciation, and sometimes in words in which it never existed." Although "standard" Swahili has chosen to write—and presumably

[1] Meinhof hears the sound as palatal throughout (p. 207).

pronounce—"*h*" in all cases, the *x*-sound is so popular as to be more than a mere affectation, and should be regarded as part of the Swahili phonetic system. It must be understood, however, that *h* is always a recognized variant, and this latter sound is always to be found in that section of the community which is outside Arabic influence.

The following pronunciations have been heard: **xamsa* or *hamsa* (five); **xaßari* or *habari* (news); **xusu* or *husu* (be concerned with); *xusika* or *husika* (be fitting); **xeri* or *heri* (happiness); **kwa xerini* or *kwa herini* (good-bye pl.); **ruxusa* or *ruhusa* or *ruksa* (permission); *ʃeix* or *ʃeik*[1] (chief); **xofu* or *hofu* (fear).

85. *ɣ* is the voiced counterpart of *x*, but, unlike *x*, is recognized by "Standard" Swahili (and written *gh*). It also occurs in words of Arabic origin. Speakers who are unable to pronounce it either omit it or substitute *g*.

(stressed)		(unstressed)	
**ɣiɓu*	(be lost)	**ɣiliɓu*	(get better of)
**ɣera*	(jealousy)		
**ɣali*	(scarce)	**ɣarikiʃo*	(inundation)
**ɣoʃi* or		**ɣofiriwa*	(be pardoned)
**ɣuʃi*	(adulterate)	**ɣuɓari*	(dust cloud)

ɣ is very rare in final unstressed syllables. Note **daɣadaɣa* (be uncertain).

Glottal

86. *h* is usually pronounced initially in a syllable as in English; it occurs predominantly in words of foreign origin, and may be pronounced either voiced or unvoiced.

(stressed)		(unstressed)	
**hima*	(quickly)	**himiza*	(hasten)
**hema*	(tent)	**hekalu*	(temple)
**haɓa*	(few)	**hatari*	(danger)
**hoʤi*	(greeting)	**hoʤari*	(strong)
**huru*	(free)	**hukumu*	(judgment)

Ramadhani occasionally elides it in a prefix: *huɟambo* or *uɟambo* (lit.: you have no affair). *tʃhawa* (*h*)*upenda utʃafu* (Lice love dirt). *kimo* (*h*)*umo* (It is in there).

[1] Here the variant is *k* not *h*.

h does not occur as initial element in a final syllable, but may occur as final sound in Arabic borrowings.

**zuhura*(*h*) (Venus); **alla*(*h*) (Allah).

87. In many words borrowed from Arabic the faucal h "*hha*" is retained in the Swahili pronounciation of certain speakers. Other speakers use normal *h*.

**hata* or h*a*ta (until); **haɟa* or h*a*ɟa (need); h*a*wa (Eve).

This sound is so popular with some speakers, however, that it is introduced into words which never had it in the original Arabic, and even into words of Bantu origin.

Buesh: *hataki* or *ɦataki* (he does'nt want).

THE NASAL CONSONANTS

88. *m* is pronounced with much more nasal resonance than in English, and occasionally causes nasalization of neighbouring vowels.

tʃamũa (yawn). See also §38.

Examples of *m*:

(stressed)	
**mila*	(custom)
mea	(grow)
**mara*	(time)
moɟa	(one)
**muda*	(period)

(unstressed)			
**milele*	(eternity)	*mimi*	(I)
memeteka	(glitter)	*mtume*	(apostle)
**mahari*	(bride price)	*uma*	(bite)
mombasa	(Mombasa)	*kikomo*	(end)
**muhuri*	(signet)	**simu*	(telegraphy)

89. *n* is pronounced as in English, though perhaps with more resonance).[1]

(stressed)	
nini	(what?)
nena	(speak)
nani	(who?)
noa	(sharpen)
**nuru*	(light)

[1] Taylor (Burt p. 9) asserts that the *n* of Arabic loan words in Swahili is dental. This was not the pronunciation of our informants.

(unstressed)

**nifani*	(medal)	*tfini*	(below)
nenepa	(get fat)	*-nene*	(thick)
nafaka	(corn)	**sana*	(very)
noŋona	(whisper)	*m̲kono*	(arm)
nunua	(buy)	*-enu*	(your)

90. *ny* (International Phonetic Association symbol *ɲ*) is palatal, being pronounced with the middle of the tongue against the hard palate, like the "*gn*" of French "*baigner*"; this sound, however, may occur initially in a word, a position not possible with the French sound.

(stressed)

nyima	(withhold)
nyefa	(fall—rain)
nyanya	(grandmother)
nyoŋga	(twist)
nyuma	(after)

(unstressed)

m̲nyimivu	(stingy)	*ninyi*	(you pl.)
m̲nyenyekevu	(humble)	*-enye*	(having)
nyamaza	(be quiet)	*nyonya*	(suck)
nyonyefa	(suckle)	*maonyo*	(warnings)
nyunyiza	(drizzle)	*manyunyu*	(drizzle)

91. *ŋ* is pronounced as in the English word "singer"; this sound, however, may also occur initially in a word, a position not possible with the English sound.

(stressed)

kiniŋina	(great great grandchild)
ŋara	(glitter)
ŋoa	(root up)

(unstressed)

n(y)iŋinia	(swing)		
ŋariza	(glare)	*ŋoŋa*	(show derision)
ŋoŋona	(gnaw)	*noŋonoŋo*	(whispering)

THE LIQUID CONSONANTS

92. *r* is pronounced as in Scotch (i.e. it is rolled), and *l* is pronounced as in English "like."

These two sounds, though well differentiated in certain words, are interchangeable in others, depending largely on the individual.

Further, there is another sound, a flapped *l*, which certain up-country speakers are inclined to use for both *r* and *l*. (This sound, however, will not be discussed here).

Under certain circumstances, governed largely by stress and neighbouring vowels, these sounds are elided.

93. Broadly speaking *r* exists principally in loan words.

(stressed)

**kariβu*	(a greeting)
**m̲reno*	(Portuguese)
**rasi*	(cape)
**roho*	(spirit)
**rudi*	(return)

(unstressed)

**riziki*	(necessities)	**βahari*	(sea)
**rehema*	(pity)		
**rafiki*	(friend)	**mara*	(time)
**rofani*	(balcony)		
**rudifa*	(send back)	**futuru*	(break one's fast)

But note the following words of Bantu origin: *rika* (age), *remba* (adorn), *refu* (tall), *ruka* (fly), *-zuri* (fine), *rarua* (tear).

94. In most Bantu words in *r*, however, an alternative pronunciation with *l* is to be heard. In the following examples the more common pronunciation is placed first.

(stressed)

lamba or *ramba* (lick)
loga or *roga* or *oga* (bewitch)
ruŋgu or *luŋgu* (club)
sururu or *sululu* (pickaxe)

(unstressed)

legea or *regea* (be slack)
kambali or *kambari* or *kambare* (fresh-water catfish)
ŋ̲giri or *ŋ̲gili* (wart-hog)
mwali or *mwari* (virgin)
kwale or *kware* (partridge)
kora or *kola* (satisfy)
tfura or *tfula* (frog)

This alternation occurs also in a few words of foreign origin.

**risasi* or *lisasi* (lead)
**lori* or *loli* (lorry).

95. Taylor (Burt p. 11) maintains that the *r* derived from Arabic is more strongly rolled than the *r* in Bantu words. Madan (Dict. p. 323) says it "is often assimilated to the Bantu *r*." None of our informants made any differentiation in their pronunciation of *r*-words.

l

96. *l* is found both in words of foreign origin and in words of Bantu origin. Its distribution in the latter is peculiar, and is governed by two factors—stress, and the quality of the vowel that precedes or follows.

"Bantu" l

Initial stem syllables:

97. Initially, whether in stressed or unstressed stem syllables, *l* occurs regularly before the vowels *i* and *e*, but is often absent (submerged) before the vowels *a*, *o* and *u*.

(stressed)

linda (guard), *lima* (hoe), *lipa* (pay), *leta* (bring), *lewa* (be drunk), *lema* (exercise), *lapa* (eat ravenously), *lala* (sleep).

but: *aga* (take leave), *apa* (swear), *mwamu* or *mlamu* (brother-in-law), *mwaŋgo* or *mlaŋgo* (door), *(w)atʃa* (abandon).[1]

loma (ant bear), *-londʒo* (long-limbed), *(l)owa* (get wet); but: *omba* (ask for), *ota* (dream), *(w)oa* (marry).[2]

lumba (make a speech), *lumbwi* (chameleon), but: *uma* (bite), *ua* (flower), *ua* (kill)[3]

(unstressed)

lindia (guard for), *limika* (be arable);

letea (bring to), *lemaa* (be disfigured);

lalama (ask for mercy), but: *agana* (bid farewell)

(l)owama (be wet), but *oana* (intermarry);

lumbika (be cross questioned), but *umia* (feel pain), *uawa* (the killed).

[1] Compare Nyanja:—*lawira* (take leave), *cilapo* (oath), *mlamu* (brother in law); Kikuyu:—*mũrango* (door); Zulu:—*lahla* (throw away).
[2] Compare Nyanja:—*lomba* (pray), *lota* (dream), *lola* (consent to marry).
[3] Compare Nyanja:—*luma* (bite), *duwa* (flower); Zulu:—*lwa* (fight).

Final stem syllables:

98. In final syllables *l* is heard before *i* and *e*, where it often alternates with *r:*

kali (sharp), *kweli* (truth), *kale* (old times), *uele* (sickness), *nywele* (hair).

For alternation with *r* see §94.

99. *l* is usually absent (submerged) before *o* and *u:*

leo (today), *kinoo* or *noleo* (whetstone), *ukoo* (kinship);[1] *-eupe* (white), *ʃuu* (above).[2]

Exceptions: *mkurugenzi* (leader),[3] *mkurufunzi* (experienced worker).

100. Before *a* it is usually absent, especially if the preceding syllable contains the vowel *i* or *e*.

lia (weep), *kia* (step over), *lea* (bring up), *mea* (sprout), *ʃaa* (become full), *zaa* (bear), *noa* (sharpen), *poa* (get cool), *oa* (marry), *potoa* (twist), *fua* (beat metal, etc.), *kua* (grow), *tua* (put down, settle).[4]

Also the verb derivative suffixes *-ia -ea -oa -ua.*[1]

Exceptions: *lala* (sleep), *pa(r)a* (scratch), *kora* or *kola* (satisfy), *tʃura* or *tʃula* (frog).

101. Note, however, that in forms of the above verbs, ending in *-i*, *-e*, *-o* or *-u*, the *l* is present or absent according as it is present in the parent word.

zaa (to bear) gives *-zai* (neg.), *-zae* (subjunctive), *mzao* (offspring);

kua (to grow) gives *-kui* (neg.), *-kue* (subjunctive), *-kuu* (big);

lala (lie) gives *-lali* (neg.), *-lale* (subjunctive), *malalo* (bedding, etc.)

But note:

teua (select) gives *-teui* (neg.), *-teue* (subjunctive), but *mteule* (one who is chosen).[5]),

ua (kill) gives *-ui* (neg.), *-ue* (subjunctive but *ŋduli* (killer).

[1] Compare Nyanja: *lero* (today), Nika: *lukolo* (relation).
[2] Compare Nyanja: *-oyera* (white), *dzulu* (above).
[3] Derived from *kuu* (big), *enda* (go).
[4] Compare Kikuyu: *rĩra* (weep), *kĩra* (cross), *rera* (bring up), *mera* (germinate); Nyanja: *dzala* (become full), *bala* (bear); Kikuyu: *nõra* (sharpen), *-horo* (cold), *hũra* (beat), *kũra* (grow); Zulu: *thula* (be calm).
Also the verb derivative suffixes in Nyanja: *-ira*, *-era*, *-ola*, *-ula*, and in Kikuyu: *-ĩra*, *-ĩra*, *-era*, *-ora*, *-ũra*, *ura*, and in Zulu: *-ela*, *-ula*.
[5] Philology explains this apparent exception by the hypothesis that this stem was originally formed with the aid of a perfect suffix *-ile*, not *e*.

Medial stem syllables :

102. In medial stressed (i.e. penultimate) syllables *l* is preserved before *i* and *e*, but usually submerged before *a* or *u*).[1]

vumilia (endure), *mulika* (show a light) ;
eleza (explain), *teleka* (put on the fire) ;
fuata (follow),[2] *siafu* (driver ant) ;[2]
ŋguuwe or *ŋguluwe* or *ŋguruwe* (pig).[2]

103. Note how the submerged *l* in the verbs mentioned in §100 reappears before *i* and *e* but not before other vowels :

lilia (weep for), *jalia* (be full up to), *zaliwa* (be born), *fuliwa* (be smithied), *kulia* (grow up to), *tuliwa* (become quiet) ;
lelea (bring up for), *melea* (be overgrown), *noleo* (whetstone), *olewa* (be married), *potolewa* (be bent) ;
liana (weep all together), *leana* (bring each other up), *zaana* (breed and multiply), *noana* (sharpen each other), *oana* (marry each other), *fuawe* (anvil), *tuana* (settle down together) ;
kiuka (step over), *paua* (conv. of *paa*=ascend).[3]
Note also : *lalia* (prep. of *lala*), *paria* (scrape with), but *palia*[4] (clean a field), *kolea*[4] (flavour), *pa*(*r*)*aza* (cause to scrape).

Exceptions : *to*(*w*)*ea* (put sauce to food) (instead of *tolea*), *paruga* or *paruza* (be rough) (instead of *pauza*).

104. In medial unstressed (non-penultimate) syllables, the same conditions usually hold, though occasionally *l* is submerged before a front vowel :

liliana (weep for each other), *palilia* (pile up grass), *fuliliza* (keep on beating metal), *tuliliwa* (be reassured) ;
telekua (take off fire), *elekeza* (show the way), *poelea* (cool off ; instead of *polelea*)[5] ;
fuatana accompany) ; but *paruzana* (scrape against each other).

l- in the prenominal prefix :

105. The *l-* of the pronominal prefix *l*(*i*)- is never elided, no matter what the phonetic context, and never alternates with *r*.

[1] *o* does not seem to occur in this context.
[2] Compare Nyanja : *fulatira* (turn back on) ; Makua : *thilaku* (driver ant) ; Zulu : *inguluñe* (pig).
[3] Compare forms *paliza*, *paaza* and *paza* (raise).
[4] *r* is replaced by *l* here.
[5] Madan p. 316.

(stressed)

lipi	(which one ?)
letu	(ours)
laŋgu	(mine)
lote	(all)

(unstressed)

linaona	(it sees)	*hili*	(this)
ŋnaliona	(I see it)		
la mtoto	(of the child)		
lo lote	(which soever)	*hilo*	(that)

" Foreign " l

106. In words of foreign origin the sound *l*[1] may occur in any context.

(stressed)

**dhalimu*	(unjust)
**uɓalehe*	(adult state)
**la*	(no)
**lozi*	(almond)
**luɣa*	(language)

(unstressed)

**liɟamu*	(horse bit)	**awali*	(beginning)
**lehemu*	(solder)		
**laani*	(cure)	**ɓaḍala*	(instead of)
**lulumizi*	(mother of pearl)	**lulu*	(pearl)

Here alternation with *r* is rare. (See §94).

107. In certain words of Arabic origin, a dark velarized l (darker that the *l* in English " fall ") may be heard with some Swahili speakers.

allah (Allah)[2] *sulṭani* (Sultan).

Other speakers pronounce a normal *l* here.

THE SEMI-VOWELS

y

108. *y* is normally pronounced as in English " yet."[3] It is not normally heard before *i*.

(stressed)

yèye	(he)
yai	(egg)
yowe	(a cry)
yupi	(which man ?)

[1] Taylor (Burt p. 10) asserts that the *l* in words of Arabic origin is more dental, but this is not borne out by our informants.
[2] In *ala* used as an exclamation, the *l* is clear.
[3] Its quality is usually that of a short *i*, though occasionally a quality approaching short ɪ or even short *e* has been heard.

(unstressed)

yeyuka	(become melted)	*naye*	(with him)
**yamini*	(oath)	**(y)aya*	(nurse)
		moyo	(heart)
yuŋgiyuŋgi	(lily)	*huyu*	(this man)

Between the vowel *i* and a following or preceding more open vowel, a glide sound *y* is often heard; this sound is not significant.

siu or *siyu* (name of a town), *yai* or *yayi* (egg), *miaa* or *miyaa* (dwarf palm).

The converse also holds in that *y* is sometimes elided in the same context:

ndiyo or *ndio* (yes=that is it).

Note that the *y-* of *ye* is elided after *-a-* in Mombasa Swahili:

ndiye (it is he), *afikiriye* (he who thinks), *ahariβuye* (he who destroys), *rafikiye* (his friend); but: *nae* (and he), *asemae* (he who speaks), *mamae* (his mother).

Barwani was also inclined to elide it under both conditions:

aliepita (he who passed) for *aliyepita*
anaependa (he who likes) for *anayependa*
atakaetenda (he who shall do) for *atakayetenda*.

w

109. *w* is normally pronounced as in English "wet." It is not normally heard before back vowels.

(stressed)

wika	(crow like cock)
weza	(be able)
waza	(think)
ona	(see)[1]
umba	(create)[1]

(unstressed)

**wituri*	(uneven)	*kiwi*	(wooden bar)
wezeʃa	(enable)	*wewe*	(you)
**wastani*	(average)	*gawa*	(divide)
onea	(see with)	*kigawo*	(divisor)
umbia	(create for)		

But note *wo wote* (whosoever pl.).

Between a closed back vowel and a preceding or following vowel a glide sound *w* is often heard; this sound is not significant.

kua or *kuwa* (grow), *toa* or *towa* (give out), *tui* or *tuwi* (coconut juice).

Note also its appearance initially:

oa or *woa* (marry), *atʃa* or *watʃa* (abandon), *eka* or *weka* (put), *eleka* or *weleka* (carry baby); even where it is not dependent on a neighbouring back vowel.[2]

The converse also holds in that *w* is often submerged between a close back vowel and another vowel.

ʃuwa or *ʃua* (know),[3] *towa* o *toa* (lack),[3] *lowa* or *loa* (be wet);[3]

hao (those—people), cp. *hawa* (these—people);

wali-o-kwenda (they who went).

Barwani was inclined to say: *palikua* (there was) for *palikuwa; asioeza* (concerning which he is unable) for *asiyoweza*.

110. Some Swahili speakers seem to differentiate between *w* derived from Ur-Bantu *v* (corresponding to labial consonants like *v* or *b* in other Bantu languages), and *w* derived from short *u* (corresponding to *w* in other Bantu languages). For the former sound these speakers often substitute a voiced labial fricative (*v*).[4] (See §76). Note the following examples from Ramadhani:[5]

vatu (people), *vapi* or *wapi* (where?), *va* or *wa* (verb to be), *gava* or *gawa* (divide), *tʃava* (louse), *tʃuva* or *tʃua* (massage). *ʃuva* or *ʃuwa* or *ʃua* (sun).

In words containing the other kind of *w*-sound, Ramadhani is apt to pronounce *u*.[6]

[1] Compare Zulu: *bona* (see), *bumba* (create).

[2] Compare the verbs in §§ 97 and 100.

[3] Compare Nyanja: *dziwa* (know), *sowa* (lack), Sotho: *koloba* (get wet).

[4] Taylor, for Mombasa Swahili (Burt p. 7) notices two *w*-sounds:

"1. The ordinary English sound, when it follows on another consonant.

"2. The letter, when it stands alone before the vowel, has something of a *v* sound, which is however more *w* than *v*." and adds: "This letter is liable to mispronunciation by some East Africans, not Swahilis, as if it were the ordinary *w* in English."

Meinhof (p. 203) says, "Speakers of good Swahili make a clear distinction between the two *w*-sounds .....I believe a differentiation between the two sounds would make the written language more intelligible in many instances."

[5] Note, however, that he uses this sound also in some words of Arabic origin, which should contain *w*: **sawa* or *sawa* (equal), **hawani*, *hewani*, *hayawani* (in the air), but: *hewa* (air).

[6] Notice also, however, his pronunciation: *tʃaua* (louse), *niue* (let me be). It is obvious that there is considerable overlapping in his vocabulary.

twaa or *tuaa* (take), *waŋga* or *uaŋga* (arrowroot). Barwani uses either sound indiscriminately:

ufalme vake (his kingdom), but *uɓaya wake* (his wickedness), **kusameheva* (to be forgiven); *asiwave* for *asiuawe* (that he be not killed); *kuzaliwa* or *kuzaliva* (to be born).

Long or Double Consonants

111. Consonants, especially explosives, may occasionally be lengthened, in order to give special emphasis to a statement.

sivitakki hivi —.‾._. (I don't want these).

This applies also to certain words borrowed from Arabic, whose original double consonant is usually ignored.[1]

hata kidogo. —·.˘ı (Not a bit).

but: **hatta kidogo.* —‾·_. (Not a *little* bit).

Syllabic Consonants

112. The nasal consonants *m*, *n* and *ŋ*, have syllabic value when they occur as prefixes or contracted syllables before consonants (other than semi-vowels); *ny* is never syllabic.

113. Syllabic *m̲* occurs under the following conditions:

(a) as object pronoun prefix for 3rd pers. sing.:
*nina**m̲**piga* (I am beating him).

(b) as subject pronoun prefix for 2nd pers. plur.:
*m̲**pendao*** (ye who love).

(c) as adverbial (or concordial) locative prefix:
*m̲**na*** for *muna* (there is within).

(d) as sing. class prefix for nouns and adjectives in the "personal" class (Class 1—Bleek.):
*m̲**tu*** (person), *m̲**pi**fi* (cook), *m̲**pya*** (new), *m̲**kuɓwa*** (big).
But note: *muhindi* or *m̲**hindi*** (an Indian); *muwi* (bad).

(e) as sing. class prefix for nouns and adjectives in the "tree" class (Class 3—Bleek.):
*m̲**ti*** (tree), *m̲**kate*** (loaf); *m̲**ɓitfi*** (fresh).
But note: *muhogo* or *m̲**hogo*** (manioc).

(f) medially in certain words, as a contraction:
*a**m̲**ka* or *amuka*** (awake), *tele**m̲**ka* or telemuka* (descend), *tfaŋga**m̲**ka*** (become cheerful), *-tfaŋga**m̲**fu*** (agreeable), **maa-m̲**zi* or *maa**m̲**zi*** (verdict).

In all these cases the sound is derived from *mu*.

114. Syllabic *m̲* occurs also:

(g) as sing. or plur. class prefix before certain labial consonants in nouns and adjectives in the "nasal" classes (Bleek, 9 and 10). These labial consonants are *ph*[1] (in monosyllabic stems), *b*[1] (in all stems), and *v* (in certain stems). It never occurs before *f*.

*m̲**pwha***	(beach); but *pw(h)ani* (loc.)[2]
*m̲**pyha***	(new—house)
*m̲**begu***	(seed or seeds)
*m̲**bivu***	(ripe)
*m̲**vi***	(grey hair)
*m̲**vua***	(rain); but *vita* (war).

(h) as plur. class prefix (Class 10—Bleek) before the same consonants with regard to certain nouns of the "*u-*" class (Class 11—Bleek), an adjectives in agreement with them.

*m̲**bau***	(planks),	sg.	*uɓau*
*m̲**biŋgu***	(heavens),	sg.	*(u)wiŋgu*
but: *vuli*	(shadows),	sg.	*uvuli*
fito	(building sticks),	sg.	*ufito*.

(i) as subject or object pronoun prefix for 1st pers. sing. (archaic).[3]
*m̲**buka*** (Quit me.) <*ni-(w)uka*. Taylor §122.

(j) as contraction or copula.[3]
*mwana huyo m̲**bwa*** (<*ni wa*) *nani?* (Whose child is that?) Binns pp. 143 4.

In all these cases the sound is derived from *n(i)*, being assimilated to *m* by the following labial consonant, which it in turn has assimilated.

115. These two prefixes should be carefully distinguished, as the plosive consonants which follow them, though orthographically identical, are phonetically dissimilar. Thus:

m(u)+p		*n(i)+ph*
*m̲**pya***	(new)	*m̲**py(h)a***
*m̲**pana***	(broad)	*phana*

[1] Now, however, **illa* (except) and **illi* (in order that) retain the double consonant, although written now with one *l* in Standard Swahili.

[1] Never *p* or *ɓ*.

[2] Now used as a noun in the nasal class.

[3] (i) and (j) are typical of old Mombasa idiom, seldom heard now.

m(u)+b	*n(i)+b*
	m̲bu (mosquito)
m̲bovu (rotten)	*m̲bovu*
m(u)+f	*n(i)+f*
m̲fu (dead)	*fu*
m̲fupi (short)	*fupi*
m(u)+v	*n(i)+v*
	m̲vi (grey hair)
m̲vuli (shady place)	*(m̲)vuli* (lesser rains)
m̲vivu (lazy)	*vivu*
m(u)+m	*n(i)+m*
m̲moja (one)	*moja*

Note further that, whereas *m̲* derived from *mu* may occur before all consonants, *m̲* derived from *ni* may not occur before non-labial consonants.

116. Syllabic *n̲* occurs under the following conditions:

(a) as sing. or plur. class prefix before monosyllabic stems beginning with *th*, *tʃh*, *s*, *ʃ*, *n*, and before all stems beginning with *d*,[1] *dʒ*,[2] and *z*, in nouns and adjectives in the "nasal" classes.

n̲tha	(wax)	but *thamu*	(swect)
n̲tʃhi	(ground)	*tʃhini*	(down)
n̲so	(kindey)	**sahani*	(plate)
n̲ʃi	(eyebrow)[3]	*ʃiŋgo*	(neck)
n̲ne	(four)	*nena*	(fat)
n̲dizi	(banana) and	*n̲defu*	(long)
n̲dʒugu	(groundnuts)	*n̲dʒema*	(good)
n̲zige	(locust)	*n̲zuri*	(fine)

(b) as plural class prefix before the same consonants with regard to certain nouns of the "*u-*" class, and adjectives in agreement with them.

n̲dimi	(tongues)	sg.	*ulimi*
n̲devu	(whiskers)	sg.	*udevu*

(c) as alternative to 1st pers. sing. pron. (subject or object) before *n-*.

n(i)nazo (I have them). *n(i)nakula* (I am eating).

(d) as contraction of copula.

n(i)nini? (What is it?)

[1] Never *d*.
[2] Never *j*.
[3] Archaic, *uʃi* preferred.

In all these cases the sound is derived from *n(i)*, which itself causes sound change in the following consonants.

117. Syllabic *ŋ̲* occurs under the following conditions:

(a) as sing. or plur. class prefix before monosyllabic stem beginning with *kh-*, and before all stems beginning with *g-*[1] in nouns and adjectives in the "nasal" classes.

ŋ̲khe (female)[2] but *khuβwa* (big)
ŋ̲ge (scorpion)
ŋ̲gao (shield) and *ŋ̲geni* (strange).

(b) as plural class prefix before the same consonants with regard to certain nouns in the "*u-*" class, and adjectives in agreement with them.

ŋ̲gwe (strings) sg. *ugwe*.

Here again the sound is derived *n(i)* being assimilated to *ŋ* by the following velar consonant, which it in turn has assimilated.

Consonant Combinations

Nasal compounds

Initially in a stem:

118. Where, in the foregoing section, the syllabic nasal is derived from *n(i)*, the resultant sound has been a nasal compound, the nasal element of which is also a prefix.[3] Thus:

m̲ph, *n̲th*, *n̲tʃh*, *ŋ̲kh*, *n̲s*, *n̲ʃ* with monosyllabic stems.

m̲b, *n̲d*, *n̲dʒ*, *ŋ̲g*, *m̲v*, *n̲z* with all stems.

119. There are some words, however, beginning with nasal compounds, in which the nasal element is not a prefix. e.g. *ŋgoja* (wait), *ŋguruma* (roar), *m̲ndimu* (lime tree).

Here the nasal element may be pronounced syllabically or not, according to the wish of the speaker. Thus:

In *ŋgoja* (Wait!) the *ŋ-* is usually syllabic, but in the infinitive form *kuŋgoja* (to wait) it is not

[1] Never *g*.
[2] *mke* preferred, as animals usually take "living" class concords.
[3] Where the syllabic nasal is derived from *m(u)*, the result is not a nasal compound, and the succeeding consonantal element is unaffected. Thus: *mp*, *mt*, *mtʃ*, *mk*, *mf*, *ms*, *mʃ*, and *mb*, *md*, *mf*, *mg*, *mv*, *mz*, *mr*, *ml* with all stems (in each of which the *m* is syllabic).

usually so, while in *mgoʃa mlaŋgo* (door keeper) it has been elided and the *g* made implosive. In *uŋgoʃe* (wage for watching) it is not usually syllabic, but may be so in the plural form *ŋgoʃe* and in *ŋgoʃo* (waiting place). Note also *ŋgurumo* and *mgurumo* (roaring).

Compare likewise the alternative forms *mndimu* and *mɗimu* (lime tree).

In *ndʒoo* (Come !) the *n-* is usually syllabic.

In *-ŋgapi* (how many ?) the *ŋ-* is not syllabic.

Note the optional introduction of *i-* into *ŋgia* or *iŋgia* (enter), *-ŋgine* or *-iŋgine* (other), *ŋgawa(ʃe)* or *iŋgawa(ʃe)* (although), to help with the pronunciation of the initial nasal.

120. The velar nasal compound *ŋg* is intimately related to the velar nasal stop *ŋ*, in that both sounds would seem to be derived from a previous *n(i)* or *n+g* (or *ɣ*). In languages like Ganda and Kikuyu this relationship is controlled by specific phonetic rules, e.g. in Ganda the sound is *ŋ* if the following syllable contains a nasal compound, but *ŋg* in other cases ; thus :

ng'enda (phon. *ŋenda*) (I go) from *okugenda* (to go) ;
ngaba (phon. *ŋgaba*) (I divide) from *okugaba* (to divide).

In Swahili, however, there seems to be no such rule, and both *ŋ* and *ŋg* seem capable of being pronounced in any context, as a study of the dictionary will indicate. Compare the following typical examples :

Verbs (*ŋ* predominates over *ŋg*) :

ŋaa or *ŋara*	(be bright)	*ŋgoeka*	(take hold of fruit)
ŋakia	(snarl)	*ŋgoʃʃa*	(wait)
ŋoa	(root up)	*ŋguruma*	(roar)
ŋota	(gnaw)	*ŋgwea*	(get thin)
ŋwafua	(snatch)		

and many more, chiefly with the vowels *-a-* and *-o-*.

Nouns (*ŋg*, with syllabic *ŋ̀*, predominates over *ŋ*) :

ŋ̀galawa	(canoe)	*ŋaraŋge*	(heart of tree)
ŋgao	(shield)	*ŋamba*	(turtle)
		ŋambo	(side of river, etc.)
ŋgazi	(ladder)	*ŋanda*	(handle)
ŋgazija	(Comoro Island)	*uŋoŋo*	(strip of palm leaf)
ŋgamia	(camel)	*ŋoŋo*	(pl. of above)
ŋgano	(story)	*ŋombe*	(cow)
ŋge	(scorpion)	*ŋofu*	(roe)
ŋgema[1]	(good *n*-class)	*ŋoe* or *ŋgoe*	(forked stick)[2]
ŋgiri	(wild boar)		
ŋgisi	(cuttle fish)		
ŋgovi	(uncircumcised man)		
ŋgoma	(drum)		
ŋgome	(fort)		
ŋgoriŋgori	(tall man)[3]		
ŋgutʃiro	(mongoose)[4]		
ŋguo	(cloth)		
ŋguvu	(force)		
ŋguruwe	(pig)		
ŋguzo	(pillar)		
ŋgumi	(fist)		
ŋgwena	(crocodile)		

and many others.

Medially or finally in a stem:

121. Nasal compounds may also occur medially in a stem. Here the nasal element is not syllabic.

In words of Bantu origion, only compounds with the voiced consonants occur here :

umba (create), *enda* (go), *kigandʒa* (palm of hand), *fuŋga* (fasten), *tʃ(h)umvi* (salt), *mlinzi* (watchman).

Occasionally the affricate *-dz-* is heard as alternative to *-z-* in the compound *-nz-* :

mwana-fun(d)zi pupil. See §39.

But note *ɗanzi* (orange), and *ganzi* (numbness), where alternative forms *ɗãzi*, *gãzi* are possible.

Note also that *ŋg* is more common than *ŋ* in this position. Exceptions : *niŋinia* (swing), *kuŋuta* (shake out).

122. In words of non-Bantu origin nasal compounds with unvoiced consonants may be heard. Here the nasal element is non-syllabic, and the normal rules of sound change are not in operation.

[1] Usually *ndzema*.
[2] *dim.* = *kiŋgoe* or *kiɠoe*. cp. verb *ŋgoeka*.
[3] Also *ndzorindzori*.
[4] Also *ŋutʃiro*, *nʃiro*.

**ʃinsi*[1] (kind, sort), **ßinti* (daughter), **aŋkatʃifi* or *aŋgatʃifi* (handerchief), **wintʃi* (winch).

Semi-vowel Compounds

123. Under certain conditions, compounds of the form consonant+*y* and consonant+*w* occur.

tʃafya (sneeze), *-kußwa* (big).

The conditions governing these sounds will be discussed in a later section, but it should be noted here that *y* is recognized only after labial consonants in the orthography.

Other Compounds

124. There are many words in Swahili of foreign origin containing consonant combinations alien to Bantu phonetics. These words are sometimes pronounced with the combinations intact, or sometimes with vowels inserted between the component parts of the combination, according to the degree of sophistication of the speaker, e.g.

**skrubu* (screw), **ʃitaki* or **ʃtaki* (accuse).

Note also *situka, stuka, ʃtuka* (be startled).

Consonant Alternation

125. In nearly every category of sound there is to be found an arbitrary alternation between unvoiced and voiced consonants in certain words.[2]

fuka	or	*vuka*	(give out smoke)
fuke	or	*vuke*	(steam)
utʃofu	or	*utʃovu*	(tediousness)
utomfu	or	*utomvu*	(plant juice)
pumba	or	*ßumba*	(packet)
kiza	or	*giza*	(darkness).

126. Other common alternations are between :

Fricatives and affricates :

ʃavu	or	*tʃavu*	or *tʃafu*	(cheek)
ʃaza	or	*tʃhaza*		(oyster)
satu	or	*tʃhatu*		(python).

Alveolars and post-alveolars :

sikio	or	*ʃikio*	(ear)
sime	or	*ʃime*	(short sword)
**siliŋi*	or	*ʃiliŋi*	(shilling).

Labio-dentals and alveolars :

mwivi	or	*mwizi*	(thief)
ŋgovi	or	*ŋgozi*	(skin)
vita	or	*zita*	(war)

Liquids and other alveolars :

kifulifuli or *kifudifudi* or *kifunifuni* (face downwards).

Meinhof mentions more, but the present work confines itself to alternations which are so common as to be recognized in the standard spelling.

Dialectal Alternation

127. In addition to the arbitrary alternations just described, there are certain important alternations due to difference in dialect. Taylor (Burt pp. 1-4) has divided the language into three main dialect groups, and has tabulated the consonant correspondence of each group. In the present work, however, only one dialect, the "Mombasa" dialect)[1] will be discussed in relation to "Zanzibar" Swahili. The main difference between the two dialects lies in the use of dental *ṯ* and *ḏ* in the former as against *t* or *tʃ* and *d* or *dʒ* in the latter. Thus :—

Bantu words :

(Mombasa)		(Zanzibar)	(Ur-Bantu)
ṯ		*t*	*t* (palatalized)
-ṯano	(five)	*-tano*	*-ṯano*
ṯh		*th*	*nṯ*
ṯ'ano	(five—houses)	*thano*	*niṯano*
ṯ		*tʃ*	*k̲* (palatalized)
maṯozi	(tears)	*matʃozi*	*maḵoli*
ṯh		*tʃh*	*nk̲*
nṯ'i	(country)	*nṯʃhi*	*nik̲i*
nḏ		*ndʒ*	*nY̲* (palatalized)
nḏaa	(hunger)	*ndʒaa*	*niY̲ala*

[1] Taylor (§239n) suggests that the *-n-* in *ʃinsi* in the stanza *walo jinsi ʃinsi* is syllabic, for the sake of the rhythm.

[2] Note that examples like *tʃumba* and *jumba* should not be included here, as the second word (=big room as opposed to ordinary room) carries with it a difference in meaning and is in a different noun class. Similarly *ḏege* (big bird) and *ndege* (bird), *kombe* (flat dish) and *khombe* (shell).

[1] There being no Mombasa Swahili speaker to hand for phonetic analysis, the information here given is based on personal experience in the Mombasa area over a number of years (on the part of Mrs. Ashton) and on the written works of Mombasa scholars like Taylor, Burt and Binns, and the spelling of Taylor is followed. It is probable that the sounds represented by *b d j g* are implosive under the same conditions which govern the Zanzibar sounds.

but:

(Mombasa)		(Zanzibar)	(Ur-Bantu)
t		*t*	*t*
-tatu	(three)	*-tatu*	*-tatu*
th		*th*	*nt*
t'atu	(three—houses)	*thatu*	*n-tatu*
tʃ		*tʃ*	*k*
kucha	(to dawn)	*kutʃa*	*kʷa-kia*
nj (*ndʒ*)		*ndʒ*	*nɣ*
njema	(good—houses)	*ndʒema*	*n-gema*

Arabic words:

(Mombasa)		(Zanzibar)	(Arabic)
ṭ		*t*	"*ta*"
*t*aabu	(trouble)	*taaβu*	*ta'b*
ṯ or *t̂*		*ṯ* or *t̂*	"*t(h)a*"
*t*aibu	(very well)	*taibu*	*ṯaiyib*
ḍ		*d̂*	"*dal*"
*d*amu	(blood)	*d̂amu*	*dam(m)*

Although Taylor mentions the dental quality of *n* and *l* in words borrowed from Arabic, neither he nor Binns indicates this in the spelling. The dental quality of *t* and *d* is indicated by italicization (Taylor and Burt) and underlining (Binns).

Irregular correspondences:

128. It would seem that in many words one dialect has borrowed the form direct from the other dialect, sometimes to the exclusion of the philologically expected form. Thus:

(Mombasa)		(Zanzibar)	(UrBantu)
t'ete	(spark)	*tʃhetʃe*[1]	*ni-ṯeṯe*
-ot'e	(all)	*-ot(h)e*[2]	*-onk̲e*
ch'ango[3]	(intestinal worm)	*tʃhaŋgo*	*ni-k̲ango*
wind*a*	(hunt)	*winda*[4]	

See §§ 49 and 69 for other examples.

129. Note also the absence of *g* in the following Mombasa words:

(Mombasa)		(Zanzibar)	(UrBantu)
mwaya	(spill)	*mwaga*	*muaɣa*
mbe(y)u	(seed)	*mᵇegu*	*ni-veɣu*
nduu	(brother)	*ndugu*	
n*d*uu	(ground nut)	*ndʒugu*	*ni-y̲uɣu*

but:—

aga	(take leave)	*aga*	*laɣa*
ndege	(bird)	*ndege*	*ni-leɣe*
bega	(shoulder)	*βega*	*li-veɣa*

130. In the following Mombasa words *j* is not heard:

(Mombasa)		(Zanzibar)	(UrBantu)
ipu	(boil)	*ɟipu*	*li-pu*
iwe	(stone)	*ɟiwe*	*li-vwe*
ii	(egg)	*ɣai*	*li-ɣi*
ivu	(ashes)	*ɟivu*	*li-ɣîvû*
(j)ito	(eye)	*ɟitʃo*	*li-ɣîk̲o*
yambo, jambo	(matter)	*ɟambo*	*li-ɣambo*

but:—

jina pl. maina	(name)	*ɟina* pl. *maɟina*	*liɣîna*
jino pl. meno	(tooth)	*ɟino* pl. *meno*	*li-ɣîno*

Note that *i-* is never used for *ji-* in augmentatives in Mombasa. e.g. *jitu* (giant), *jumba* (large room).

[1] instead of *thete*.
[2] instead of *-otʃhe*.
[3] instead of *thaŋgo*.
[4] instead of *windʒa* (occasionally heard however).

PREFIX CONCORDANCE IN LOZI, LINGUA FRANCA OF BAROTSELAND[1]

By MAX GLUCKMAN

I

I hope that this analysis of prefix concordance in Lozi (Kololo), the lingua franca of Barotseland and one of the four official Bantu languages in Northern Rhodesia, will be of some use to students of comparative Bantu linguistics. My analysis may at any rate help the many Europeans who have to learn Lozi in working with Africans. I myself worked out the rules described in this paper to ease my own task in learning Lozi while doing sociological work in Barotseland.

I had a little training in the principles of comparative Bantu linguistics and phonetics while taking the first two courses in Zulu at the University of the Witwatersrand, under Professor C. M. Doke in 1931 and 1932. When I came to learn Lozi I found it worth my while to take M. Adolph Jalla's very valuable Lozi[2] grammar and recast it in the categories commonly used by modern Bantu linguists.[3]

I must explain for readers who have never studied or learnt a Bantu language, that this group of languages is characterised by nouns which consist of a stem and a prefix; e.g. in Lozi:

prefix—stem		
mu-	*tu :*	a person
si-	*tu :*	a poor person, man's speech
ba-	*tu :*	people
bu-	*tu :*	humanity
ka-	*tu :*	a small person
tu-	*tu :*	small people.

The prefix may vary the meaning of a given stem. In any Bantu language there are classes of prefix, as in Latin there are classes fixed by suffixes, and the noun-prefixes of the hundreds of Bantu languages fall into a very limited number of classes. In a Bantu sentence, other parts of speech are related to the noun they qualify by prefixes (concords) which show marked alliteration (concordance) with the noun prefix:

e.g. *Ba-nna baba-lalu baba-butali ba-inzi fakuta.*
Men three wise sit in court

Pronouns also show alliteration with the nouns they represent:

e.g. *Licikwi li-fi? Lona lale li-fufa*
Goose which? That yonder flying

I hope here to show, (1) the definite phonetic regularities which run through various prefixal concords in each Lozi part of speech, and (2) the concordance through the various prefixes related to each Lozi noun-class. Noun-classes are numbered, in the accompanying tables, both according to Jalla's classification for Lozi, and to Werner's more general one for Bantu languages, as such.[1] In the text I use Jalla's numbering to facilitate cross-reference to his grammar.

For similar reasons, I show here how the terms used by Bantu linguists compare with Jalla's:

subjectival verb concord is Jalla's simple pronoun nominative (his Grammar, p. 12)

objectival verb concord is Jalla's simple pronoun accusative (his Grammar, p. 12)

possessive concord is Jalla's possessive particle (his Grammar, p. 15)

adjectival and relative concords are Jalla's relative pronoun (his Grammar p. 18)

[1] I collected material for this article while working as a member of the staff of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Barotseland. I thank Mr. J. Ritchie, Principal of the Barotse National School, Mongu, for criticising this paper. He particularly corrected my analysis of personal and group possessor pronouns to clear up some confusion, and also made other suggestions. Mr. Ritchie suggests that hyphenating, as I have done in my examples, may meet the demands of those favouring disjunction and those favouring conjunction.

[2] Lozi is the term now applied to Kololo, a language largely based on the Sotho of the Kololo conquerors of the Lozi, whose own language is called Luyi or Luyana (by the Lozi, *silozi tota*=Lozi proper). Many Lozi words are Luyi, but Lozi can understand Sotho in which the Bible was first taught in Barotseland.

[3] See Doke, C. M. *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, 1935.

[1] *The Bantu Languages*, 1919, pp. 40-1.

II

Before proceeding with my analysis I must write two brief paragraphs on the disjunctive and conjunctive writing of Bantu. The Government authorities have ruled that Lozi, as in the past, should still be written disjunctively, i.e. word-groups should be formed on the basis of the linguistic concepts applied by the Paris Evangelical missionaries, who first reduced Lozi to writing, and that Lozi should not be written conjunctively, as it would be if word-groups were formed according to the genius of Lozi itself and of all Bantu languages. In Bantu almost every word-group is indicated by a heavy stress on the penultimate syllable and concepts separated in European languages are conjoined. I have discussed the matter with some Government educational officers and most were in favour of conjunctive writing. I can only express my opinion that as the change will have to be made ultimately, it were best to do it now, when only a few books in Lozi have been published. The longer the change is delayed, the more difficult it is to make.

Far more competent authorities than I am have argued that conjunction is the genius of Bantu languages.[1] Here I can only say that I have many times got Lozi to speak slowly to me and I have always heard them form their word-groups on a conjunctive basis. When I read disjunctive writing to them disjunctively, they roared with laughter. It is clear enough that many of the so-called "pronouns" (i.e. concords) written separately in Lozi, can never stand alone, and the absurdity to which disjunction leads, is shown in an incident which occurred to me. A number of schoolboys had written essays for me; my interpreter, an intelligent and educated Lozi, worked through them with me. I noticed that he often hesitated in deciding to which stems a concord (particle) belonged or what concords meant, till he had conjoined them. At last we came to an essay so sprinkled with "*ku's*" and "*li's*" etc. that he had to take his pencil and try to link them together. Even then he had a peckful over; the poor schoolboy had exuberantly scattered them, like dashes and commas, all over his page. It was like an English page full of "I's," "he's" and "to's." Finally, disjunction leads to ambiguities.

[1] See Doke, *Bantu Linguistic Terminology op. cit.* Also his *Unification of the Shona Dialects* and *Phonetics of the Zulu Language.*

III

In the table the horizontal columns show the consonantal concordance through the prefixes and pronouns of the various noun-classes, while the vertical columns show the vowel concordance in each type of concord and pronoun. I deal first with the vertical columns. The hyphens placed beside concords indicate that the concord should, in speaking Lozi and in writing it conjunctively, always be conjoined to a stem. I have hyphenated all Lozi sentences for the benefit of those who are used to disjunctive writing.

Column 2 : Subjectival Verb Concord : The significance of this concord is clear from its name. The concord 2(B), is used wherever in the present indicative the verb stands absolutely, without adverbial qualificative or outside (i.e. not the objectival verb concord) object and where a series of sentences narrating incidents in the past follow on one another. Otherwise the concord 2(A) is always used.

The rules for forming the subjectival verb concords are :

A : The simple subjectival verb concord is the same as the noun-prefix, except where the noun prefix has an initial labial "*m.*" Where this is present, it is dropped. In Class 7 singular, which has no prefix, there is a latent "*i*" which emerges here.

B : The absolute subjectival verb concord is formed by suffixing "*a*" to the simple subjectival verb concord. The following phonetic changes occur :

(i) $a+a=\bar{a}$ ($\bar{a}$=long *a*, but written in table as, "*a*" only)

(ii) $u+a=wa$

(iii) when "*i*" stands alone or after "*b*," $i+a=ya$

(iv) "*i*" after "*l*" or "*s*" dropped and replaced by "*a.*"

Note : In Classes 5 plural and 7 plural there is a latent "*z*," which emerges wherever the vowel of the concord is changed from the "*i*" of the noun prefix.

The above phonetic changes are regular throughout Lozi,[1] in all combinations of the sounds described.

There is one exception in these concords. In Class 1 singular, the regular forms "*u-*" and "*wa-*" are limited in their use. There is a form "*a-*" which is used in all moods except the indicative, in all except three tenses of the indicative, and throughout the negative conjugation.

Column 3 : The objectival verb concord is a concord always infixed in the word-group immediately before the verb stem and refers to the object of the verb's action when that object is not explicitly stated. This concord can never stand alone.

The objectival verb concord is the same as the subjectival verb concord, except :
2nd person singular : *-ku-* instead of *-u-* (Table II)
2nd person plural : *-mi-* instead of *-mu-* (Table II)
Class 1 singular : *-mu-* instead of *-u-* (Table II)

Column 4 : The possessive concord relates the noun possessed to the noun possessing it. Note that the possessive concord agrees with the noun possessed, and is prefixed to the possessing noun, which is written second.

The possessive concord is the same as the absolute subjectival verb concord (Column 2B) : it is formed by suffixing "*a*" to the simple subjectival verb concord and observing the phonetic rules detailed under Column 2B.

Column 5 : The adjectival concord relates the few true adjectival stems in Lozi to the noun they qualify.

It is formed by inserting "*a*" before the vowel of the subjectival verb concord (i.e. where there is no consonant, "*a*" is prefixed to the subjectival verb concord), and suffixing the noun prefix to the result.

The phonetic changes under the first part of the rule are regular in Lozi (and most Bantu languages) :

[1] And most Bantu languages.

(i) $a+a=\bar{a}$
(ii) $a+u=\bar{o}$ (long *o*)
(iii) $a+i=e$ (where "*i*" stands alone or after "*b*," "*ye*" is formed. Cf. Column 2B, rule (iii))

It may be noted that in suffixing the noun prefix :
(i) Class 7 singular has no prefix.
(ii) In Classes 5 and 7 plural the latent "*z*" gives "*ze-*" and the noun prefix "*li-*" is not added.

Column 6 : The relative concord is prefixed to forms of the verb used to qualify a substantive (as such it equals "which") and to other parts of speech (e.g. nouns and adverbs) used adjectivally.

It is formed from the adjectival concord, and is the same except that wherever the noun prefix contains the labial "*m*," the prefix is dropped.

In Class 1 singular, however, the concord is "*ya-*" not "*yo-*."
Otherwise : "*omu-*" becomes "*o-*" (Cl. 2, sing.)
"*yemi-*" „ "*ye-*" (Cl. 2, pl.)
"*ama-*" „ "*a-*" (Cl. 3, pl.)
while : "*bobu-*" remains "*bobu-*" (Cl. 1. pl.)
"*leli-*" „ "*leli-*" (Cl. 4a sing.)
etc.

The above completes the concords, and we have next to consider the pronouns, which, unlike the concords, can be used alone :
e.g. which horse ? (*pizi ifi?*)—That yonder (*yale*)

Column 7 : The substantive pronoun is used in place of a noun of the same class.

It is formed by suffixing "*-ona*" to the consonant of the subjectival verb concord from which the vowel is dropped :
e.g. *li-* becomes *lona* (Cl. 4a sing.)
a- „ *ona* (Cl. 3 pl.)
si- „ *sona* (Cl. 5 sing.)
However, *i*, where it stands alone or after *b*, acts as the semi-vowel *y* (cf. Columns 2B and 5).

Note : (i) *yena* in Class 1 singular.
(ii) In Classes 5 and 7 plural, the vowel change displaces *l* with *z* to give *zona*.

There are two kinds of possession in Lozi, personal and group (usually family, homestead, political division or tribe, also school, company, etc.). The difference is explained below. In

most classes the substantive pronoun is used as the personal possessor pronoun with the possessive concord. There are however special forms for the personal possessor pronominal stem of the following (see Table II):

1st person sing.: *-ka* (of mine)
2nd person sing.: *-hao* (of yours)
3rd person sing.: *-hae* (of his)

These three stems are also used with the possessive concord; they can never stand alone.

his hut — *ndu ya-hae* (Cl. 7 sing.)
my dugouts — *mikolo ya-ka* (Cl. 2 pl.)
your blood — *mali a-hao* (Cl. 3 pl.)

For these persons the plural personal possessor pronouns are the substantive pronouns, as for other classes.

The group possessor pronominal stems are shown in Table II (final column). The singulars of 1st, 2nd and 3rd (Class 1) persons are respectively *-hesu*, *-henu* and *-habo*. They indicate that the thing possessed belongs to a group defined by reference to a single person (speaker, audience, or person referred to, respectively). The plurals, *-habo-luna* (1st person), *-habo-mina* (2nd person) and *-habo-bona* (3rd person, Class 1), refer to the possessing group on behalf of more than one person. The following examples indicate the difference in meaning of these possessors. The concord in all instances agrees with the thing possessed.

likomu za-ka (my own cattle—(or) a group head speaking of the cattle of his group) (Cl. 7 pl.)

ki-zona likomu za-hao?—are those your (own) cattle (or) the cattle of a group-head addressed (Cl. 7 pl.)

komu ye ki-ya-habo?—is this your group's cow (speaking to one person) (Cl. 7 sing.)

likomu ze ki-za-habo-luna—these cattle are our group's (speaking on behalf of oneself and other members of the group) Cl. 7 pl.)

Instead of using this plural group possessor, a man may say *likomu za-ku-luna* (our group's cattle — grammatically, *the-cattle-which-to-us*. Here *ku-* is a prefix used with the substantive pronoun *luna* to form the locative). Similarly *za-ku-mina, za-ku-bona*, and with other substantive pronouns.

The plural group possessor is also used with all plural substantive pronouns:

e.g. *macikwi a-fufa a-zwa kwa-bana-ba-habo ma*—the spurwing goose flies from its flock (Cl. 4a pl.)

litau li-ca ku-zu-habo-zona—the lions eat in their pride (Cl. 7 pl.)

This form of group possessor is also used in the singular of all classes except in the 1st Class and the 1st and 2nd persons:

licikwi li-fufa li-zwa kwa-bana-bahabo lona—the spurwing goose flies from its flock (Cl. 4a sing.)

tau i-ca ku-bana-ba-habo yona—the lion eats in its pride Cl. 7 sing.)

Thus we may sum up:

my (our) homestead's cattle—*likomu za-hesu* (*za-habo-luna*) (Cl. 7 pl.)

your (of you) tribe's customs—*mikwa ya-hesu* (*ya-habo-mina*) (Cl. 2 pl.)

his (their) family gardens—*masimu a-habo* (*a-habo-bona*) (Cl. 3 pl.)

Columns 8-11: There are four demonstrative pronouns in Lozi (see Jalla's Grammar, pp. 16-7). They are classified by Jalla as:

demonstrative pronoun, 1st degree=this near the speaker.
demonstrative pronoun, 2nd degree=that near the person spoken to.
demonstrative pronoun, 3rd degree=that over there.
demonstrative pronoun, 4th degree=that yonder (i.e. at a distance).

Column 8: Demonstrative pronoun of the first degree (this near the speaker). This pronoun is the same as the adjectival concord without the added noun-prefix, save that in Class 2 singular the "*u-*" of the noun prefix acts as the semi-vowel "*w-*" to give "*wo-*" instead of "*o-*."

The relationship of the demonstrative pronoun of the 1st degree and the adjectival concord might be expressed: this first demonstrative is formed by infixing "*a*" before the vowel of the subjecti-

val verb concord, and observing the phonetic rules detailed under Column 5 :

i.e. (i) $a+a=\bar{a}$

(ii) $a+u=\bar{o}$ (long $\bar{o}$)

(iii) $a+i=e$ (after "*i*" alone or "*b*," "*ye*"); and the adjectival concord is formed by suffixing the noun prefix to the first demonstrative.

The exception is in Class 2 singular, where the demonstrative is "*wo-*" and the adjectival concord is "*ōmu-*."

In Class 1 singular, though the "*y*" emerges, the relationship of the two is regular : "*yo-*" and "*yomu-*."

Column 9 : The Demonstrative Pronoun Second Degree (that near the person spoken to) is formed by suffixing "*o*" to the demonstrative pronoun 1st degree. "*o*"+"*o*" coalesces to give long "*ō*."

Thus in :

Class 1 sing : this man near me (the speaker)= *mutu yo*
that man near you (the addressed) =*mutu yoo*

Similarly :

Class 2 sing : this village, *munzi wo ;* that village, *munzi woo*

Class 3 sing : this bread, *buhobe bo ;* that bread, *buhobe boo*

Class 4b sing : this shelter, *lutanga lo ;* that shelter, *lutanga loo*

Class 8 plur : these small fishing rods, *tushuto to :* those small rods, *tushuto too*

Otherwise : Class 1 plur : *ba* and *bao*
Class 7 ,, : *ze* and *zeo*
Class 4 ,, : *a* and *ao*, etc.

Column 10 : The Demonstrative Pronoun Third Degree (that over there) is formed by suffixing "*ani*" to the form of the first degree.

The following phonetic changes occur :

(i) where "*y*" and "*w*" stand as initial semivowels they continue to act ;

(ii) where "*y*" stands after "*b*" in Class 6 plural it continues to act ;

(iii) $o+ani=wani$, to give *bwani*, *lwani*, *twani*.

In Class 2 singular the two "*w*'*s*" coalescence, and in Class 1 singular the "*w*" is dropped, for "*yw*" is an impossible combination of sounds ;

(iv) $a+ani=\bar{a}ni$ (long $\bar{a}$)

(v) where the vowel of the first degree form is "*e*" it is dropped.

Column 11 : The Demonstrative Pronoun Fourth Degree (that yonder) is formed by suffixing "*ale*" to the form of the 1st degree, with the phonetic changes described in the preceding paragraph, when "*ani*" is suffixed. Relative distance can be indicated by prolonging both the *a* and the *l* in the *ale* of this concord.

There remains the accusative relative pronoun or concord (Jalla's Grammar, § 30 p. 17) which I have not shown in Table I. It is :

	Sing.	Plur.
C. 1	*yo* (or) *ye*	*bo* (or) *be*
Cl. 2	*o*	*ye*
Cl. 3	*bo*	*a* (or) *e*
Cl. 4a	*le*	*a* (or) *e*
Cl. 4b	*lo*	*a* (or) *e*
Cl. 5	*se*	*ze*
Cl. 6	*se*	*bye*
Cl. 7	*ye*	*ze*
Cl. 8	*ka* (or) *ke*	*to*
Cl. 9	*ko*	

I have not inserted this on the table for I am not clear on its formation. If it is a pronoun it is the demonstrative pronoun of the first degree, with an alternative form in which "*e*" can be substituted wherever "*a*" occurs in the demonstrative.

Further exceptions are :

Cl. 1 plur : *bo* instead of *ba*, but with the *be* alternative

Cl. 1 sing : *ye* as an alternative to *yo*

Cl. 2 sing : *o* instead of *wo*.

If it is a concord, it is the ordinary relative concord, with an alternative form in which "*e*" can be substituted wherever "*a*" occurs in the ordinary concord, and with no addition of the noun prefix. Exceptions are :

Cl. 1 sing : *yo* (cf. adjectival concord) instead of *ya*

Cl. 1 plur : *bo* instead of *ba*, with the *be* alternative.

I am at present investigating whether it is a concord (i.e. it is conjoined) or a pronoun (i.e. it can stand alone) to determine its formation.

The above analysis of the vertical columns, i.e. of the vowel changes in the various concords and pronouns, shows that underlying these there are definite phonetic rules which operate regularly. Most of the exceptions noted are in consonantal changes of the noun-prefix to its concords and pronouns. I shall now briefly consider these.

IV

An examination of the horizontal columns shows that the consonantal changes are very regular. In most of the classes there are no exceptions. Refer, for example, to Class 3 singular and Class 8 plural, in Table I.

In Class 2 singular, the concordance is from the vowel "*u*" through the semi-vowel "*w*."

In Class 7 singular, the concordance is from the latent vowel "*i*" through the semi-vowel "*y*." (cf. in Zulu, this class runs: *in-*, *ya-*, etc.).

In Class 1(a) singular, which includes only terms describing certain relatives (e.g. *me*, my mother; *ndatɔ*, my father; *maho*, your mother, etc.) and all names, the concordance is through the consonants of Class 1 singular, though the nouns of Class 1(a) singular have no prefix.

In Class (1a) plural, the prefix is "*bo-*" (*bondate*, my fathers, *bondataho*, your fathers, etc.). The concordance is still through the vowel "*b*," and the vowel changes are for the "*ba-*" of Class 1 plural.

However, in Class 1 plural, the peoples of tribes are denoted by the prefix "*ma-*," not "*ba-*" but the concordance is for the "*ba-*" of ordinary nouns of this class:

e.g. A good Lozi likes cattle—*mulozi ya-lukile u-lata likomu.*

Good Lozi like cattle—*malozi baba-lukile ba-lata likomu.*

Young Mbunda are circumcised—*mambunda baba-nca ba-kengilwe.*

Consonantal concordance seems lacking in Classes 5 plural and 7 plural, where "*l*" becomes "*z*." However, I have already noted that this change occurs regularly, the "*l*" persisting wherever there is no vowel change (i.e. from the noun-prefix to the simple subjectival and the objectival verb concords). In all other concords and pronouns "*z*" replaces the "*l*" and all these concords and pronouns are formed by vowel changes. It may be noted that in Zulu both these classes have "*z*" in the prefix and its concordance:

Thus:	*Lozi class, sing. and pl.*	*Zulu class, sing. and pl.*
	(5) *si-* and *li-*	*isi-* and *izi-*
	(7) (*i*) and *li-*	*in-* and *izin-*

There is thus regularity even in this apparently exceptional class, and foreign Africans learning Lozi often use *zi-* in these noun prefixes.

In Class 1 singular, where too exceptional vowel changes occur, there is, as in all Bantu languages, less regularity. The concordance of this class runs through the two semi-vowels: "*u*" or "*w*" and "*y*." The "*u*" and "*w*" occur in the verb concords and possessive concord only (the objectival verb concord is "*mu-*"); in all other concords and pronouns, the concordance runs regularly through the semi-vowel "*y*" found in the substantive pronoun *yena*.

In the 1st and 2nd person (Table II) the consonantal concordance, and to a lesser extent the vowel concordance, is regular if the special possessor stems (*-ka*, *-hao*, *-hae*, *-hesu*, *-henu*, *-habo*) are excluded. The one exception is the 2nd person singular objectival verb concord *-ku*.

Most concords and demonstrative pronouns in these persons are lacking, and for their singular and plural, the concords of Class 1 singular and plural respectively are used.

Thus: I of the chief—*na wa-mulena* (possessive concord)

We who are wise know—*luna baba-butali lwa-ziba* (relative concord)

you of the court—*wena wa-kuta* (possessive concord)

ye three—*mina baba-lalu* (adjectival concord).

Demonstrative pronouns are rarely used by Lozi with the first and second persons; they prefer adverbs. But the following sentence might be spoken by the king in council:

Councillors, ye by me, remain; ye nearby, approach; ye yonder, go away. *Manduna, mina ba, musiale; mina bao, mu-sutelele; mina bale, mu-zamaye.*

V

I give here a few Lozi sentences to show the concordance of all prefixes with the noun-prefix.

	1.	2.	3.	4.
(a)	*Mulozi*	*ya-lukile*	*ya-kauhana*	*ni*
	A Lozi	who-is-good	who-is-divorcing	with
	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
	musali	*wa-hae*	*u-mu-kutiseza*	*kwa-hae*	*ni*
	wife	of-him	he-her-returns	to-home	with
	10.		11.		
	muhulwana 'hae		*yomu-hulu.*		
	elder-brother-of-him		he-senior.		

Analysis :

Word 1 : noun Cl. 1 sing.
2 : rel. conc. Class 1 sing. related to word 1, conjoined with verb *-lukile.*
3 . rel. conc. Cl. 1 sing. similarly conjoined vb. *-kauhana.*
5 . noun Cl. 1 sing.
6 . poss. conc. Cl. 1 sing. related to word 5, conjoined with Cl. 1 sing. possessor pronoun referring word 1. *Note :* more idiomatically the possessive concord would be elided as in word 10.
7 . *u-* is subj. vb. conc. Cl. 1 sing. referring to word 1, *mu-* is obj. vb. conc. Cl. 1 sing. referring to word 5.
10 . noun Cl. 1 sing., with possessor *-hae* referring to word 1, the possessive concord *wa-* related to word 10 itself having been elided as is customary with relationship terms.
11 : adj. conc. Cl. 1 sing. related to word 10, *-hulu* being one of the true adjectives in Lozi.

	1.	2.	3.	4.
(b)	*Ki-zona*	*likomu*	*ze-nsu*	*ze-tata*
	Are-those	the-cattle	they-black	they-strong
	5.	6.		
	ze-lekilwe	*ki-wena ?*		
	which-were-bought	by-you ?		

Analysis :

Word 1 : Subs. pron. Cl. 7 plur. referring word 2.
2 : noun Cl. 7 plur.
3 : adj. conc. Cl. 7 pl. related word 2, conjoined adjectival stem.
4 : rel. conc. Cl. 7 pl. related word 2, conjoined noun *-tata* (strength) which is here used adjectivally.
5 : rel. conc. Cl. 7 pl. related to word 2, conjoined verb *-lekilwe.*
6 : 2nd pers. sing. pronoun.

	1.	2.	3.
(c)	*Muzumi*	*wa-sikwala*	*u-kunupile*
	Hunter	of-a-skilled-man	he-shot
	4.	5.	6.	7.
	macikwi	*ama-lalu*	*a-otile*	*a-fuja.*
	geese	they-three	which-thin	they-flying.

Analysis :

Word 1 : noun Cl. 1 sing.
2 : poss. conc. Cl. 1 sing. related to word 1, conjoined with noun Cl. 5 sing.
3 : subj. vb. conc. Cl. 1 sing.
4 : noun Cl. 4a plur.
5 : adj. conc. Cl. 4a plur. related to word 4, conjoined with adj. stem *-lalu.*
6 : rel. conc. Cl. 4a plur. related to word 4, conjoined with vb. *-otile.*
7 : subj. vb. conc. Cl. 4a plur. related to word 4.

	1.	2.	3.	4
(d)	*Mina*	*batu*	*ba-mulena*	*yomu-hulu*
	You	people	of-chief	he-great
	5.	6.	7.	8.
	mu-swanezi	*ku-mamela*	*banana*	*ba-hae*
	you-ought	to-care-for	children	of-him.

Analysis :

Word 1 : subs. pronoun 2nd person plural.
2 : noun Cl. 1 plur. in apposition to word 1.
3 : poss. conc. Cl. 1 plur. related to word 2, conjoined with noun Cl. 1 sing.
4 : adj. conc. Cl. 1 sing. related to word 3, conjoined with adj. stem *-hulu.*
5 : subj. vb. conc. 2nd person pl. related to word 1.

6: verb infinitive (or noun Cl. 9 sing.).
7: noun Cl. 1 plur.
8: poss. conc. Cl. 1 plur. related to word 7, conjoined with possessor stem Cl. 1 sing. referring to word 3.

	1.	2.	3.
(e)	*Buhobe*	*bobu-ciwa*	*ki-makuwa*
	Bread	which-is-eaten	by-Whites
	4.	5.	6.
	bwa-tula	*kwa-batu*	*baba-nsu*
	is-dear	for-people	they-black.

Analysis :

Word 1: noun Cl. 3 sing.
2: rel. conc. Cl. 3 sing. related to word 1, conjoined verb *-ciwa.*
3: noun Cl. 1 plur., with tribal prefix *ma-.* Concords would be of Cl. 1 pl.
4: subj. vb. conc. abs. Cl. 3 sing. The absolute form is used idiomatically: *bu-tula* (the simple subj. vb. conc.) would be correct grammar and correctly used.
5: noun Cl. 1 plur.
6: adj. conc. Cl. 1 plur. related to word 6, conjoined with adj. stem *-nsu.*

	1.	2.	3.	4.
(f)	*Tau*	*ye-tuna*	*i-keni*	*mwa-mulaka*
	Lion	it-big it-male	it-entered	into-kraal

5	6	7	8
omu-tuna	*wa-hesu.*	*Ya-ca*	*namani*
it-big	of-my-family.	It-ate	calf
9.	10.		
ya-sitole	*ye-sweu*		
of-heifer	it-white.		

Analysis :

Word 1: noun Cl. 7 sing.
2: adj. conc. Cl. 7 sing. related to word 1, conjoined with adj. stem *-tuna.*
3: subj. vb. conc. Cl. 7 sing. related to word 1, with vb. *-keni.*
4: noun Cl. 2 sing.
5: adj. conc. Cl. 2 sing. related to word 4, conjoined with adj. stem *-tuna.*
6: poss. conc. Cl. 2 sing. related to word 4, conjoined with 1st person pl. possessor signifying familial possession. If it had been "our kraal," the Lozi would be "*mulaka wa-luna.*"
7: absolute subj. vb. conc. since sentence narrates series of events in past. Cl. 7 sing. related to word 1 conjoined with verb *-ca.*
8: noun Cl. 7 sing.
9: poss. conc. Cl. 7 sing. related to word 8, conjoined with noun Cl. 7 sing.
10: adj. conc. Cl. 7 sing. related to word 9, conjoined with adj. stem *-sweu.*

[For Tables see over.]

I: TABLE OF LOZI CONCORDS AND PRONOUNS.

(cannot stand alone) (can stand alone)

Jalla's Class Numbers	*Werner's Class Numbers*	*1* *Noun Prefix*	*2* *Subjectival Verb Concords* *A Simple*	*B Absolute*	*3* *Objectival Verb Concord*	*4* *Possessive Concord*	*5* *Adjectival Concord*	*6* *Relative Concord*	*7* *Substantive Pronoun (& Possessor)*	**Demonstrative Pronouns.** *8* *1st*	*9* *Degrees 2nd*	*10* *3rd*	*11* *4th*
Cl. 1 sing.	1	mu-	u-(a-)	wa-	mu-	wa-	yomu-	ya-	yena	yo	yō	yani	yale
plur.	2	ba-(ma-)	ba-	ba-	ba-	ba-	baba-	baba-	bona	ba	bao	bani	bale
Cl. 1(a) sing.	1	no prefix	all as for Class 1.										
plur.	2	bo-											
Cl. 2 sing.	3	mu-	u-	wa-	u-	wa-	omu-	o-	ona	wo	wō	wani	wale
plur.	4	mi-	i-	ya-	i-	ya-	yemi-	ye-	yona	ye	yeo	yani	yale
Cl. 3 sing.	14	bu-	bu-	bwa-	bu-	bwa-	bobu-	bobu-	bona	bo	bō	bani	bale
plur.	6	ma-	a-	a-	a-	a-	ama-	a-	ona	a-	ao	ani	ale
Cl. 4a sing.	5	li-	li-	la-	li-	la-	leli-	leli-	lona	le	leo	lani	lale
plur.	6	ma-	a-	a-	a-	a-	ama-	a-	ona	a	ao	ani	ale
Cl. 4b sing.	11	lu-	lu-	lwa-	lu-	lwa-	lolu-	lolu-	lona	lo	lō	lwani	lwale
plur.	6	ma-	a-	a-	a-	a-	ama-	a-	ona	a	ao	ani	ale
Cl. 5 sing.	7	si-	si-	sa-	si-	sa-	sesi-	sesi-	sona	se	seo	sani	sale
plur.	8	li-	li-	za-	li-	za-	ze-	ze-	zona	ze	zeo	zani	zale
Cl. 6 sing.	7(?)	si-	si-	sa-	si-	sa-	sesi-	sesi-	sona	se	seo	sani	sale
plur.	20(?)	bi-	bi-	bya-	bi-	bya-	byebi-	byebi-	byona	bye	byeo	byani	byale
Cl. 7 sing.	9	no prefix	i-	ya-	i-	ya-	ye-	ye-	yona	ye	yeo	yani	yale
plur.	10	li-	li-	za-	li-	za-	ze-	ze-	zona	ze	zeo	zani	zale
Cl. 8 sing.	13	ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-	kaka-	kaka-	kona	ka	kao	kani	kale
plur.	12	tu-	tu-	twa-	tu-	twa-	totu-	totu-	tona	to	tō	twani	twale
Cl. 9 sing.	15	ku-	ku-	kwa-	ku-	kwa-	koku-	koku-	kona	ko	kō	kani	kale

The reflexive concord is "i-" for all persons, classes and numbers: it is inserted before the verb stem (Jalla, p 50).

TABLE II

Concords for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Persons

	Substantive pronoun	*Subjectival A. Simple*	*Verb Concord B. Absolute*	*Objectival verb concord*	*Personal possessor pronominal stem*	*Group possessor pronomical stem*
Sing.	nda (or) na	ndi- (or) ni-	nda- (or) na-	ni-	-ka	-hesu
1st person Plur.	luna	lu-	lwa-	lu-	-luna	-habo-luna
Sing.	wena	u-	wa-	ku-	-hao	-henu
2nd person Plur.	mina	mu-	mwa-	mi-	-mina	-habo-mina
Sing.	yena	u-	wa-	mu-	-hae	-habo
3rd person Plur.	bona	ba-	ba-	ba-	-bona	-habo-bona

Note : (1) 3rd person, except in possessor stems, is Class 1 singular and plural.
(2) Wherever there is no concord or demonstrative pronoun for the 1st and 2nd persons, the concords and pronouns of Class 1 are used.
(3) In the other classes the substantive pronoun is used for the personal possessor; to signify familial, homestead or tribal possession, etc., the form is : *-habo* plus the appropriate substantive pronoun, singular or plural.

HERKOMS EN GESKIEDENIS VAN DIE TLHAPING[1]

Deur F. J. LANGUAGE

1. *INLEIDING*

Die Tlhaping is 'n Bantoestam wat verwant is aan die s.g. Westelike Sotho-of Tšwana-sprekende stamme van Suidelike Afrika. Die Tšwana is 'n groep van onafhanklike Bantoe-sprekende stamme wat kultureel baie na aan mekaar verwant is, en wat woonagtig is in afsonderlike reserwes, in 'n nagenoeg aaneengeslote geografiese gebied wat die volgende streke behels, t.w. Bechuanaland Protektoraat asook die gebied wat vroeër bekend was as Brits Bechuanaland maar nou 'n deel uitmaak van die Kaap Provinsie. Gedeeltes van sommige Tšwanastamme soos die Rolong, Kgatla en Hurutshe, woon ook nog in die Westelike en Sentrale gedeeltes van Transvaal. 'n Klein seksie van die Rolong en Tlhaping woon selfs in die Thaba Nchu distrik in die Oranje-Vrystaat.

Hierdie gebied is taamlik uitgestrek. Die klimaat is warm en droog, en die plantegroei vir die grootste gedeelte van so 'n aard dat die gebied hom, veral in vroeër tye, uitstekend geleen het aan veeteelt en ook aan die jag. Mens vind dan ook dat die Tšwana teenswoordig hoofsaaklik die veeteelt, en in mindere mate ook die pikboubedryf, beoefen. Die meer primitiewe stamme, soos die Kgalagadi en die Boesmans, wat ook in hierdie gebied woonagtig was, se ekonomiese lewe het uitsluitlik uit jag en versamel bestaan. Hulle was *ipso facto* die slawe van die Tšwana wat in vroeër tye almal slawehoudende stamme was. Teenswoordig, egter, het hierdie slawe-instelling by sommige stamme, soos by voorbeeld die Tlhaping, heeltemal uitgesterwe.

Die Tšwanastamme het in vroeër tye, net soos ander Bantoestamme, baie oorloë teen mekaar gevoer, hoofsaaklik met die doel om vee te roof. Sommige stamme het ook baie onderlinge twiste gehad, veral oor die kapteinskap, wat tot gevolg gehad het dat stamme opgebreek en nuwe stamme tot stand gekom het. By 'n paar geleenthede is die Tšwana egter ook deur vreemde stamme, soos by voorbeeld die Ndebele en die Mantatisi, aangeval maar hierdie aanvalle is meesal afgeslaan sodat dit géén blywende invloede gehad het nie.

Volgens oorlewering het die huidige Tšwana-stamme hul ontstaan gevind deurdat die oorspronklike moederstam, nl. die Hurutshe, in die gryse verlede opgesplits het in 'n aantal groepe wat op hulle beurt weer verder opgesplits het in 'n aantal stamme wat mettertyd onafhanklik van mekaar geword het. So by voorbeeld, word teenswoordig nog vertel dat die volgende Tswana-stamme oorspronklik van die Hurutshe afstam, t.w. die Kwena, Ngwaketse, Ngwato, Tlharo, Kgatla, Tlôkwa, Malete en Rolong. Die Tawana is 'n verder afsplitsing van die Ngwato. Ook die Kgatla het in 'n hele aantal onafhanklike stamme opgesplits, soos by voorbeeld die Kgafêla (2 seksies), Mosêtlha, Mmakau en Motšha. Die Mmanaana is weer 'n nuwe spruit van die Kgafêla seksie. Ook die Rolong wat oorspronklik van die Hurutshe afstam, het in verskillende onafhanklike stamme opgebreek, soos die Tlhaping, Tlou, Tshidi, Seleka en Rapulana. Die Tlhaping het op hulle beurt ook weer in verskillende seksies opgebreek sommige waarvan heeltemal onafhanklike politieke eenhede geword het, soos by voorbeeld die Phuduhutšwana en Maidi seksies.

Volgens die volksktelling van 1936 was die Tlhapingstam in die Taung distrik 21,724 siele sterk. Teenswoordig woon die oorgrote meerderheid van hulle in die Taung Naturelle-reserwe

[1] In sy oorspronklike vorm het hierdie opstel verskyn as die inleidende hoofstuk van 'n proefskrif getitel „Kapteinskap by die Tlhaping," wat ek by die Universiteit van Stellenbosch ingehandig het ter verkryging van die D.Phil-Graad. Die oorgrote meerderheid van gegewens wat hierin verwerk is, het ek regstreeks van die Tlhaping self verkry onder wie ek vir omtrent 11 maande lank volkekundige navorsing oor die onderwerp van Kapteinskap gedoen het. Hierdie onderneming is moontlik gemaak deur 'n toelaag van die Nasionale Navorsingsraad èn die toekenning van 'n H. B. Webb-Stipendium asook 'n jaar se buitengewone verlof van afwesigheid deur die Universiteit van Stellenbosch aan wie ek hiermee graag my dank betuig.

wat 'n gedeelte uitmaak van die Taung distrik, wat saam met die reserwe-gedeelte 'n oppervlakte van omtrent 465,000 morg beslaan.[2] Maar 'n groot gedeelte van die stam woon in die distrik en die naburige streke, en nie in die reserwe wat deur die blanke owerheid aan hulle vir bewoning toegeken is nie.

Hoewel die Tlhaping oor die algemeen baie min in twyfel verkeer oor hulle herkoms of afstamming, het die kerngroep van die stam egter so lank gelede ontstaan dat die meeste besonderhede in verband daarmee nie meer so goed aan hulle bekend is nie. Dieselfde geld ook vir baie belangrike gebeurtenisse in hulle geskiedenis, sommige waarvan nogal taamlik resent is. Waar sulke gebeurtenisse nie al heeltemal vergeet is nie, het persone wat beskou word as die historikusse van die stam, nog net 'n vae herinnering of skewe voorstelling daarvan. Ook Burchell het dieselfde verskynsel onder die Tlhaping teëgekom toe hy hulle in 1812 besoek het. Hy sê: „Their own traditions will scarcely carry their history back more than two or three generations."[3] Dit is waarskynlik om hierdie rede dat die huidige kaptein en sy raadslede asook gewone lede van die stam so angstig is dat hulle geskiedenis vir die nageslag op skrif gestel moet word, en waarom hulle my dan ook alle fasiliteite verskaf het om hierdie sowel as ander onderwerpe deeglik na te vors. So het die kaptein by voorbeeld eendag op my versoek 'n stamvergadering belê spesiaal met die doel om lede van die stam die kans te gee om die gegewens wat ek reeds versamel het aan te hoor en te korrigeer asook om nuwe gegewens te verstrek.

Ten spyte van hulle ywer vir die saak neem die Tlhaping teenswoordig uit eie beweging geen spesiale stappe om belangrike gebeurtenisse uit die geskiedenis vir die nageslag volgens die ou stamgewoonte oor te vertel of te bewaar nie.

Die geskiedenis van die Tlhaping is egter 'n onderwerp waaroor daar al heelwat gegewens gepubliseer is en vir die navorser van onskatbare waarde is. So kan, by voorbeeld, die publikasie in Tšwana van A. J. Wookey[4] genoem word. Ook J. T. Brown[5] verskaf waardevolle gegewens oor die geskiedenis van die stam. Verder kan veral die werk van Robert Moffat[6] genoem word wat baie besonderhede bevat. Daar is ook ander skrywers na wie se werke later in die opstel verwys sal word. In die samestelling van die geskiedenis van die Tlhaping waarvan ek in hierdie opstel net 'n baie beknopte oorsig gee in soverre dit sekere aspekte van die kapteinskap illustreer, het ek vryelik van die gegewens uit hierdie asook ander betroubare bronne, soos by voorbeeld blouboeke, gebruik gemaak. Ek was daardeur in staat om my eie gegewens aan te vul, en in baie gevalle ongerymdhede wat bestaan het uit die weg te ruim.

2. *HERKOMS*

Oor die oorsprong of herkoms van die Tlhaping het daar by sommige skrywers nogal heelwat misverstand bestaan. So meen Barrow, by voorbeeld, dat die tent-of liefs kegelvormige dak van die hutte[7] van die Tlhaping 'n argument is ten gunste van die beskouing dat hierdie stam van Arabiese oorsprong is. Hy redeneer nog verder in die rigting van hierdie dwaalweg as volg: „Their pastoral life, their feeding principally on milk, their hospitality to strangers, their practice of circumcising male children, and the general cast of the countenance, are all Arabic."[8]

[2] Volgens gegewens wat deur die Naturelle-kommissaris vir die Taung distrik verstrek is, beslaan die Naturelle-gebiede in die distrik die volgende oppervlaktes, t.w.

Die Taung Naturelle-reserwe insluitende die Manthe area ..	185,240	morg.
Die Kaukwe Naturelle-reserwe	3,351	„
Plase aangekoop ten behoewe van Naturelle	22,385	„
Totaal	210,976	„

[3] Burchell, W. J. *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa.* London. 1822-'24. Vol. II p. 545.

[4] *Diñwao leha e le dipolelo kaga dico tsa Secwana.* (History of the Bechuana). Tygerkloof. 1929.

[5] *Among the Bantu Nomads.* London. 1926. pp. 204-227.

[6] *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa.* London. 1842.

[7] In die tyd toe Barrow geskrywe het (1806) was die dakke van die hutte van die Tlhaping kegelvormig, teenswoordig is hulle egter koepelvormig of rond.

[8] Barrow. John. *A Voyage to Cochinchina in the Years 1792 and 1793* . . . . . to which is annexed *An Account of a Journey made in the Years 1801 and 1802 to the residence of the Chief of the Booshuana Nation (Tlhaping).* London. 1806. p. 401. Bogenaamde beskouing kan tereg aangeneem word as synde die van Barrow self en nie by voorbeeld die van Trüter en Somerville nie van wie se joernaal

Dornan beweer, sonder om enige besonderhede te verskaf, dat „ the Bahlaping are the oldest branch of the Bechuana people, and came down from the North where the old Bechuanas lived." Die woord *tlhapi* wat „ vis " beteken en waarvan die Tlhaping hul naam aflei, dui volgens Dornan verder die tydperk aan „ when the tribe dwelt somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Great Lakes, the original home of the Bantu."[9] In hierdie verband kan ook die bewering aangehaal word van 'n sekere „ Rev. Giddy that the name Batlapin . . . . men of the Fish, perhaps the Fishers was probably derived from the fact of their living at some former time near the lakes of the interior."[10]

Theal is van mening dat die voorvaders van die Bantoe Afrika vanuit Asië binnegetrek het en toe al langs die Ooskus af Suidwaarts getrek het. Die eerste stamme wat volgens hom in Suidelik-Afrika sou aangekom het, is die voorvaders van die Kgalagadi en die s.g. „ Balala." Na hulle sou die voorvaders van die „ Leghoyas " waarvan die „ Bataung " afstam, hulle verskyning gemaak het. En die stam wat na hulle in Suidelik-Bechuanaland sou aangekom het, is die Tlhaping gevolg deur die Rolong. Theal noem geen spesifieke datum waarop die Tlhaping in Suidlik-Afrika sou arriveer het nie, maar hy meen dat hierdie gebeurtenisse plaasgevind het gedurende die 15de, 16de en 17de eeue.[11] Hy gee ook geen aanduiding van min of meer watter plek die Tlhaping sou emigreer het nie, maar dat hy, in teëstelling met die ander genoemde skrywers, bepaald op die regte spoor was omtrent hulle ontstaan, ly geen twyfel nie, soos die uiteensetting wat hier volg sal aantoon.

Navorsing van die etniese geskiedenis van die stam het aan die lig gebring dat die Tlhaping 'n stam is wat direk van die Rolong afstam en dat hulle dus 'n Bantoestam is wat behoort tot die Westelike Sotho-of Tšwana-sprekende stamme van Suidelik-Afrika. Hierdie feite word gesteun o.a. deur Wookey,[12] Brown[13] en Schapera[14] sowel as al die segsmanne onder die Tlhaping-en Rolongstamme wat ek oor die onderwerp geraadpleeg het. Die tydstip in die geskiedenis waarop hierdie stam tot stand gekom het en die omstandighede waaronder die ontstaan plaasgevind het, is egter onderwerpe waaroor daar nogal heelwat verskil van mening, selfs onder segsmanne van gesag, bestaan, en dit is dus nodig om hier 'n bespreking daarvan te hê.

(a) *Ontstaansdatum*

Die tydstip in die geskiedenis waarop die Tlhaping van die Rolong af weggebreek het, word deur Brown en Wookey aangegee as gedurende die tydperk toe Tau die kaptein van die Rolong was, d.w.s. omstreeks die jaar 1760 toe hierdie Rolong-kaptein dood is.[15] Hierdie standpunt word ook gesteun deur 'n oorgrote meerderheid van segsmanne wat ek oor die onderwerp geraadpleeg het. Maar of hierdie datum sonder meer as die regte een aanvaar kan word, lyk my egter nie moontlik nie, omdat die getuienis van die meerderheid van segsmanne in hierdie verband nie juis al te geredelik as korrek aangeneem kan word nie. Baie van hulle is nie meer goed op hoogte van sake nie, en diegene wat kan lees, se getuienis stem ooreen met die gegewens van Wookey. Daar is egter geen bewyse dat die gegewens van Wookey oor die ontstaansdatum van die Tlhaping korrek is nie. Inteendeel. Een van my segsmanne, wie se naam ek nie graag hier wil noem nie, het my uitdruklik teen die betroubaarheid van hierdie skrywer gewaarsku daar hy segsmanne sou geraadpleeg het wat nie as absoluut betroubaar kan beskou word nie.

Die stamboom van die opperhoofde van die Tlhaping kan miskien gebruik word om tot 'n benadering van die ontstaansdatam van die stam

Barrow sy gegewens oor die s.g. Tšwana (Tlhaping) kry nie, want hulle, so berig Barrow self op p. 402 van sy boek, kon in 1801 toe hulle die stam besoek het, geen inligting van hulle kry aangaande hulle ontstaan of vir hoe lank hulle al in Suidelike Afrika woonagtig was nie.

[9] Dorman, S. S. *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari* London. 1925 pp. 243-4.

[10] Stow, George W. *The Native Races of South Africa.* London. 1910. p. 434.

[11] Theal, George McCall. *The Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa South of the Zambesi.* London. 1910. pp. 150-3.

[12] *Op. cit.* p. 12 ff.

[13] *Op. cit.* p. 206.

[14] *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom.* London. 1938. p 3.

[15] Brown, *Op. cit.* p 217. Vergelyk Schapera, *Op. cit* pp. 3 en 309.

te geraak. Ek het van al die bestaande skriftelike en ander vir die publiek ontoeganklike bronne gebruik gemaak en veel moeite gedoen ten einde hierdie stamboom so korrek en volledig as moontlik te maak.

Hierdie stamboom van die kaptcinsfamilie, soos ek dit opgestel het,[16] toon op die oomblik nie minder as 14 generasies aan nie. As elke generasie gereken word teen 'n gemiddelde tydperk van 25 jaar, wat taamlik konserwatief is, dan vind mens dat die eerste kaptein van die stam naasteby 350 jaar gelede moes gelewe het, d.w.s. omstreeks die jaar 1590. Ook Stow kan in hierdie verband aangehaal word. Hy sê: „The pedigree of the Batlapin chiefs takes us back eleven generations from the present paramount chief."[17] Dit het hy, volgens die datum van sy eie voorwoord tot sy boek, geskrywe in 1880 toe Mankurwane die kaptein van die Tlhaping was. Hiervolgens sou mens op dieselfde manier kon bereken dat die eerste kaptein omstreeks die jaar 1605 moes gelewe het, wat baie gunstig vergelyk met die jaar 1590.

Maar die tydperk waarin die eerste kaptein wat in die stamboom aangegee word, gelewe het, kan natuurlik nie sonder meer aanvaar word as die datum waarop die stam ontstaan het of van die moederstam af weggebreek het nie. Die datum waarop die Tlhaping van hul moederstam af weggebreek het, moet baie duidelik onderskei word van die datum waarop die stam sy onafhanklikheid as 'n selfstandige politieke eenheid verkry het. Dit is heel moontlik dat, hoewel die Tlhaping vroeg in die 17de eeu van die Rolong af weggebreek het en ver van hulle af gaan woon het, hulle nog altyd as deel van en onderdanig aan die Rolong beskou is deur sowel die Rolong as hulself. Om hierdie gevolgtrekking te staaf, kan twee feite aangehaal word. Eerstens het die kaptein van die Rolong, volgens Campbell, altyd van sy onderdane geëis dat hulle die borsbeen van elke bees wat hulle slag, aan hom moes gee. Volgens hom het die Tlhaping, nadat hulle van die Rolong af weggetrek het, gereeld aan hierdie eis of verpligting voldoen en daardeur hul onderdanigheid aan die kaptein van die Rolong betuig. As gevolg hiervan sou Mokgosi, een van die kapteins van die Tlhaping, in opstand teen die Rolongkaptein gekom het en het van dié dag af blykbaar nie meer die „belasting" betaal nie.[18] Mokgosi sou, volgens my berekening, in die jare 1725 tot 1750 regeer het, d.w.s. gedurende die leeftyd van die Rolongkaptein Tau wat, na berig word, in 1760 dood is. Maar tweedens, kon die kaptein van die Tlhaping, volgens sommige van my segsmanne, ook nooit sonder die goedkeuring van die Rolongkaptein moordsake verhoor nie en moes hy alle veroordelinge in elk geval aan laasgenoemde rapporteer. My segsmanne meen dat hierdie reëling na die dood van Tau, wat die Tlhaping met 'n ysterhand regeer het, opgehou het. As Tau dood is in 1760, soos algemeen skyn aangeneem te word, dan kan daardie datum met veiligheid ook aangeneem word as die datum van onafhanklik-wording van die Tlhaping, maar sekerlik nie as die datum van hulle ontstaan nie.

As die bewering van Barrow[19] naamlik dat Trüter en Somerville in 1801 toe hulle die Tlhaping besoek het, geen gegewens omtrent die ontstaan van die stam kon kry nie, korrek is, dan kan met 'n groot mate van veiligheid aangeneem word dat die stam veel vroeër as slegs 40 jaar *voor* daardie jaar ontstaan het. Ook die gevolgtrekking van Lichtenstein is dat „the tribe of Maatjaping (d.i. Tlhaping) has been governed by the ancestors of the present king (t.w. Molehabangwe, 1812, die voorvader van die huidige kaptein) *from time immemorial.*"[20] Wat hierdie bevinding steun, is Stow se bewering: „It has been asserted by some that the *pioneer tribes*, the Batlapin, and the Barolong, are all offshoots of the same stem, viz. of the Bachoana (Tšwana) proper. If this be in reality the case, the separation must have been *an ancient one* as the dialects of the language vary considerably."[21] En volgens die gegewens van Theal is die Tlhaping die eerste Tšwanastam wat hulle verskyning uit die Noorde in Suidelike

[16] Sien die bylaes tot hierdie opstel.
[17] Stow. *Op. cit.* p. 437.
[18] Campbell, John. *Travels in South Africa.* London. 1815. p. 207.
[19] *Op. cit.* p. 402.
[20] Lichtenstein, H. *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806.* London. 1815. Vol, II. p. 330. Kursivering van my.
[21] Stow. *Op. cit*, p. 434. Kursivering van my.

„ Betshuanaland," met die Rolong kort op hulle hakke, gemaak het gedurende die 15de, 16de en 17de eeue.[22]

Uit die voorgaande blyk dit dus voldoende dat die veronderstelling dat die ontstaansdatum van die Tlhaping naasteby teen die helfte van die 18de eeu geval het met gerustheid verwerp kan word en aangeneem kan word dat hierdie stam hulle ontstaan naasteby aan die end van 16de of die begin van die 17de eeu gehad het terwyl hulle eintlik eers omstreeks die jaar 1760 volle politieke onafhanklikheid verkry het.

(b) *Omstandighede van Ontstaan*

Die omstandighede waaronder die Tlhaping van die Rolong af weggebreek het, kan kortliks as volg uiteengesit word :

Die Rolong is die eerste Tšwanastam wat in vroeër tye in hulle Suidwaartse trek van uit die Noorde of Noord-ooste die Moloporivier oorgesteek het. Hulle was 'n magtige stam en hulle stamgebied het min of meer binne die volgende grense geval, nl. in die Noorde die Molopo-en in die Suide die Modderrivier ; in die Weste die Kalahari woestyn en in die Ooste die Westelike Transvaal. Die gebied het moontlik ook die Westelike gedeelte van die huidige Oranje-Vrystaat ingesluit. In hierdie uitgestrekte gebied het ook nog ander kleinere stammetjies gewoon, soos by voorbeeld die Leghoyas of BaTaung en bendes van die Kgalagadi en Sarwa, wat aan die kaptein van die Rolong onderdanig was. Die Rolong het later van tyd hulle hoofstat te Taung[23] gemaak maar hulle was na bewering so 'n groot stam dat dele daarvan op afgeleë plekke weg van die hoofstat af gaan woon het. Sommige het later selfs diep die Oranje-Vrystaat ingetrek waar hulle vandag nog aangetref word.[24]

Die omstandighede waaronder daardie deel van die Rolong, wat later die Tlhaping sou uitmaak, van die hoofstat af weggetrek het, is as volg : Dit het gebeur dat op die jagtogte wat deur die Rolongkaptein van tyd tot tyd, soos die gewoonte was, gereël is, 'n sekere seksie van die stam beroemdheid verwerf het deurdat hulle altyd die meeste wild doodgemaak het terwyl ander seksies van die stam nie veel en in baie gevalle niks kon doodkry nie. Op 'n goeie dag toe die kaptein weer so 'n jagtog georganiseer het, het dié bepaalde seksie onder die aanvoering van hul bekwame leier, soos gewoonlik, weer buitengewoon baie steenbokkies doodgemaak terwyl ander seksies geen sukses met die jag gehad het nie en met leë hande na die hoofstat moes terugkeer waar hulle deur die vrouens met spot en 'n sekere mate van minagting begroet is. Onder hulle was ook die kaptein van die stam.

Die sinoniem vir „ steenbok " in Tšwana is *phuduhudu*, en omdat dié bepaalde seksie altyd daarin geslaag het om op die jagtogte so baie steenbokkies dood te maak, het hulle leier die bynaam van Phuduhutšwana (d.i. die verkleinwoord of vroulike vorm van *phuduhudu*) verwerf, en is sy volgelinge genoem geword Ba-ga-Phuduhutšwana.

Die kaptein het nie daarvan gehou dat Phuduhutšwana en sy volgelinge beter jagters moes wees as hyself nie, en het aan die begin eers afgunstig op hulle begin word. Maar gou-gou het hy begin glo dat die volgelinge van Phuduhutšwana werklik beter jagters was as hy en sy volgelinge, en het hy die vrees begin koester dat hulle moontlik ook beter vegsmanne sou wees as wat hy en sy onmiddellike volgelinge was, en verder dat hulle met sukses teen hom sou kon opstaan en die kapteinskap van hom sou verower. Dié vrees het hom so beetgepak dat hy mettertyd besluit het om vir Phuduhutšwana en sy volgelinge onskadelik te maak deur hulle van die gras te maak. Op tirannieke wyse sou dit hom nooit geluk nie, en hy het toe planne begin beraam om dit op skelmagtige manier te doen.

Phuduhutšwana wat verwant was aan die kaptein en ook een van die kaptein se vertroude raadslede was, tot op daardie tydstip, het, toe hy merk dat hy nie meer vertrouelik deur die kaptein geraadpleeg word nie, lont geruik en besluit om

[22] Theal, George McCall. *Ethnography and Condition of South Africa before A.D. 1505.* London. 1919. pp. 181-5.

[23] Taung wat onder die blankes verkeerdelik bekend is as Taungs is vernoem na die BaTaung wat in vroeër tye, nog voor die Rolong, daar gewoon het en nie na Tau die voormalige Rolongkaptein soos deur sommige vermoed word nie.

[24] Vergelyk Theal, *Op. cit.* p. 184 en Brown, *Op. cit.* p. 217.

met sy volgelinge een nag stilletjies die hoofstat te verlaat en op die vlug te gaan. So gesê, so gedaan. Die Phuduhutšwana het gaan woon waar die Hartz—en die Vaalrivier inmekaar vloei en die naam van diè plek Dikgatlhong gegee.[25] Hier het die Phuduhutšwana wat maar net 'n handjie vol was vir 'n lang tyd bly woon en tot 'n aansienlike mate vermeng geraak met Boesmans en Korannas wat taamlik baie in diè streek gewoon het.[26] Die fisiese raseienskappe van Boesman en Hottentot onder die Tlhaping kan vandag nog baie duidelik onderskei word.

3. *VOORGESKIEDENIS*

(a) *Die eerste Kapteins*

Die geskiedenis van die stam van dat Phuduhutšwana van die moederstam af weggebreek het totdat Mokgosi die kaptein geword het, 'n tydperk van omtrent 125 jaar, is gladnie meer aan die stam bekend nie. Al wat vandag nog vertel kan word, en dit met 'n groot mate van onsekerheid en teenstrydigheid, is watter verskillende kapteins mekaar opgevolg het. Hierdie gegewens is vervat in die stambome wat aan die end van hierdie opstel gegee word. Verder word gesê dat die Phuduhutšwana van die begin af maar 'n klein klompie was en dat hulle 'n armoedige lewe gelei het langs die walle van die Vaalrivier. Hulle het gedurig van die een plek na die andêr rondgeswerwe en is dikwels deur vyandige stamme wat hulle teengekom het, aangeval en beroof. Toe Mashwe vir Mokgosi as kaptein opgevolg het (omtrent 1750) het hy in die Langeberge gaan skuiling soek en daar vir 'n lang tyd gebly. As gevolg van droogtes en hongersnood wat in hierdie streke ontstaan het, het Mashwe besluit om weer na Dikgatlhong te verskuiwe, waar hulle eertyds gewoon het en waar daar vir hulle beter vooruitsigte was om 'n bestaan te maak, ten spyte van die teenwoordigheid van baie Boesmans.

(b) *Die Phuduhutšwana kry die Naam van Tlhaping*

Lank nadat die Phuduhutšwana in Dikgatlhong aangekom het, het die Rolong wat hulle hoofstat te Taung gehad het, 'n kaptein gehad met die naam van Tau (leeu). Soos reeds aangetoon, is die Phuduhutšwana wat toe nog nie die naam Tlhaping verwerf het nie, beskou as onderdane van Tau, die Rolongkaptein. Laasgenoemde het op 'n sekere dag 'n paar van sy raadslede na die Phuduhutšwana toe afgestuur om te gaan verneem hoe dit met hulle gaan. Die boodskappers het teruggekom met die berig dat dit met die Phuduhutšwana so treurig gaan dat hulle selfs nie kos het om van te lewe nie as net die visse wat hulle elke dag in die Vaalrivier vang. Die berig het gelui: *ba ya ditlhapi hêla* (hulle lewe net van visse). En van diè dag af het die Rolong van die Phuhuhutšwana gepraat as die Ba-tlhaping, d.i. die mense van die visplek. Die benaming het dus by die Rolong as 'n bynaam of spotnaam ontstaan en dit verklaar waarom die benaming van hierdie stam in die lokatief is. Dit staan geensins in verband daarmee dat die Tlhaping die vis as hul totemdier aangeneem het nie. Sover as ek kon uitvind is daar ook geen deel van die Tlhaping, in die Taung Naturelle-reserwe altans, wat die vis as totem het nie. Hulle enigste totemdier is die koedoe (*thôlo*), dieselfde as diè van die Rolong van wie hulle afstam.

(c) *Karakter van Tau*

Tau het die Phuduhutšwana egter nog beskou as deel van die Rolong en as sulks aan hom as die kaptein onderdanig. Hy het derhalwe besluit om hulle na sy hoofstat (Taung) te laat terugkom. Die hoof van die Tlhaping[27] het ingestem om terug te gaan maar hy was bang dat dit maar net 'n slimme set van Tau was om hulle te straf omdat hulle eertyds van die hoofstat af gedros het. Hy het geen begeerte gehad om onder Tau te staan nie. Sy vrees was nie ongegrond nie. Tau was 'n beroemde kaptein maar almal het hom

[25] Hierdie plek moet nie verwar word met die huidige Dikgatlhong naby Kuruman nie.

[26] Vgl. Brown, *Op. cit.* p. 206 en Wookey, *Op. cit.* p. 13.

[27] Brown en Wookey meen dat dit Phuduhudu of Phuduhutšwana was, dieselfde persoon onder wie die seksie oorspronklik van die Rolong weggebreek het, en baie van die Tlhaping meen teenswoordig ook so, in naprating, glo ek, van Wookey se *Dico tsa Secwana* wat deur hulle gretiglik gelees word. Dat dit egter nie korrek is nie, blyk uit die feit, wat ek alreeds bewys het, dat in die tyd van Tau wat in 1760 dood is, die Phuduhutšwana alreeds 'n gevormde stam was, en in hierdie tyd, soos Stow op pp 438-9 berig, onder die leierskap of kaptein-skap gestaan het van Mashwe, wat volgens my bevindinge heeltemal korrek is.

gevrees want, soos Brown[28] van hom sê: „He seems to have been of a cruel disposition. He treated the Batlhaping . . . as slaves and killed in a treacherous manner not only Koranna and Bushmen who fell into his hands, but members of his own tribe. Not far from Taungs (d.i. Taung) is a hill with steep cliffs, and from this hill he used to have men, women and even children, who displeased him, hurled to death on the rocks beneath."

(d) *Die Tlhaping keer terug na die Rolong*

Mashwe, die hoof van die Phuduhutšwana, bang dat Tau hom in elk geval sou aanval, het aan die oproep gehoor gegee en besluit om na Taung, die hoofstat van die Rolong terug te keer, maar nie sonder om horn voor te berei en deeglik op sy hoede te wees vir enige gebeurlikheid nie.[29]

Mens het in hierdie geval 'n uitstekende voorbeeld van hoe dat in daardie tye die een kaptein die ander eerder met slimmigheid en bedrog probeer uitoorlê het as om hom met geweld te probeer onderwerp. Tau was wreed en daarby ook besonder uitgeslape en vernuftig. Mashwe het dit geweet en het, heeltemal tereg, vermoed dat daar iets geheimsinnigs geskuil het agter die vriendelike versoek van Tau dat hulle maar weer na die ou hoofstat moes terugkeer waar hulle 'n beter lewe kon lei, ens. Maar Mashwe wou vir Tau geen aanstoot gee nie, en was bowendien beslis om agter die waarheid van laasgenoemde se planne te kom. Hy het homself as stokdoof voorgedoen en met 'n half onnosel voorkoms sy opwagting by die *kgotla* (d.i. die sentrale vergaderplek van die mans) van die Rolongkaptein gemaak. Hy het sy rol so goed gespeel dat niemand ooit die minste suspisie gekry het dat hy besig was om hulle koud te lei en spioenwerk onder hulle te doen nie.[30] As hulle hom aangespreek het, het hy weggekyk en gemaak asof hy hulle eenvoudig nie hoor nie, tensy hulle sy aandag getrek het deur aan hom te stamp wanneer hy hulle met sulke dom-astrant vrae beantwoord het, heeltemal weg van die punt af, dat hulle gou-gou geen notisie van hom begin neem het nie en in sy teenwoordigheid hul planne begin bespreek het.

Mashwe het nog verder van hierdie geleentheid gebruik gemaak deur te sorg dat hy maar altyd teenwoordig was in die *kgotla* waar die mans gewoonlik bymekaar gekom het om sake van die dag te bespreek. Ongemerk het hy dus op 'n baie eenvoudige dog doeltreffende manier daarin geslaag om op 'n sekere dag te hoor dat Tau werklik besluit het om die stat van die Tlhaping, wat op daardie tydstip glo nie al te ver van die Rolong se stat af geleë was nie, op 'n sekere nag te omsingel, al die inwoners in hulle slaap te vermoor en die stat aan brand te steek. Heeltemal ongemerk het Mashwe uit die *kgotla* verdwyn en haastig sy volgelinge gaan waarsku teen die bedreiging. Op die dag dat Tau hulle sou omsingel het Mashwe 'n bokram in sy kraal by 'n paar ooie wat op hitte was, laat vasmaak en aan sy volgelinge bevel gegee dat hulle in die nag die stat stilletjies moes verlaat en as hulle eers 'n end weg was dan openlik op die vlug moes gaan.

Die bokram het, soos geredelik verstaan kan word, die hele nag deur geblêr en so te kere gegaan dat die Rolong wat die statjie omsingel het pragtig mislei is. Toe die rooidag breek en hulle op die stat afstorm om almal wat daarin was uit te moor, het hulle tot hul grootste verbasing en ontsteltenis net die rustelose bokram, die paar ooie en vir Mashwe, die dowe kwartel, daar aangetref. Toe hulle hom vra waar al die mense was, het hy ewe dood onskuldig, asof hy van niks geweet het, na sy ore gewys en gesê: *lwa reng? Ga ke utlwe!* (wat sê julle? Ek kan nie hoor nie! Die strydlustige regimente van die Rolong het nie tyd gehad om nog verder met hom te sukkel of van hom notisie te neem nie: hulle het hom net daar aan sy lot oorgelaat en die vlugtende Tlhaping agterna gesit. Maar nie ver van die hoofstat af nie, waar die Buxton kalkmyne nou glo is (die plek waar die s.g. Taung-skedel ontdek is)

[28] *Op. cit.* p. 217.

[29] Stow meen dat die Tlhaping tot dusver nog altyd 'n rond-swerwende stam was en gedurende een van hul swerftogte heel *toevallig* op die hoofstat van die Rolong afgekom het. Dit is egter hoogs twyfelagtig omdat die hele landstreek oor afstande van honderde myle aan die inboorlinge oor die algemeen goed bekend was en niemand beter as die Tlhaping kon geweet het waar die hoofstat van hul voorvaders, en nou moontlik hul vyande, geleë was nie.

[30] Volgens die reg van die Tlhaping verhinder fisiese gebreke 'n persoon nie om tot die kapteinskap op te volg nie mits hy natuurlik 'n wettige aanspraak daarop het.

het die Tlhaping die Rolong in 'n hinderlaag gelok en hulle 'n gevoelige neerlaag toegedien. Daarna het hulle omgespring en die hoofstat gaan plunder. Tau het glo nie lank hierna nie die plek verlaat en na die Noorde uitgewyk.

Dit is nie seker waarheen die Tlhaping toe getrek het nie. Dit is heel waarskynlik dat hulle hul weer gaan vestig het by hulle ou woonplek, Dikgatlhong, langs die Vaalrivier. Dit is gedurende hulle verblyf op hierdie plek dat 'n tweede seksie nl. die Maidi, van die Rolong af weggebreek het en hulle ook daar kom vestig het.

4. *ONTSTAAN VAN DIE MAIDI SEKSIE VAN DIE TLHAPING*

Tau was bitter teleurgestel oor die neerlaag wat hy gely het en het vir Maidi, een van sy bloedverwante, daarvan beskuldig dat hy aan die Phuduhutšwana die planne van die Rolong gaan verklik het. Maidi is voor die hof gedaag maar hy het alle beskuldigings teen hom beslis ontken, dog Tau was oortuig dat Maidi die skuld gedra het en was gedetermineerd om van hom 'n skuldbekentenis te kry. Maidi het hardnekkig geweier totdat Tau besluit het om die volgende maatreël toe te pas ten einde hom te dwing om sy skuld te erken. Hy het naamlik 'n stok-ou bul laat slag, Maidi se kop vol vet laat smeer, 'n groot vuur buite in die warm son laat maak en instruksies gegee dat Maidi die taai beesvleis in die potte op die vuur met 'n swaar stok moes omroer totdat dit alles sag gekook was. Dit was'n geseling van die ergste graad want Tau het vir hierdie geleentheid 'n buitengewoon warm dag uitgesoek. (In Taung styg die termometer soms tot 112° F. in die skaduwee). Maidi wou egter nie skuldig pleit nie en een van sy bewonderaars wat vir hom jammer begin voel het, het vir hom ingestaan en Maidi het dus vrygekom. Maar hy en sy volgelinge het onder Tau geen rus of vrede gehad nie, sodat ook hulle besluit het om van hom af weg te breek. Of dit gebeur het nog tydens sy leeftyd of onmiddellik na sy dood toe die hele Rolongstam in vier groot seksies opgesplits het, kan vandag nie met sekerheid vasgestel word nie. In elk geval, hulle het by die Phuduhutšwana seksie, wat reeds by Dikgatlhong was, gaan aansluit en hulleself na hulle leier die Ba-ga-Maidi genoem. Die Rolong het hulle egter, net soos vir die Phuduhutšwana, die Ba-tlhaping genoem.

(a) *Verhouding van die Maidi tot die Phuduhutšwana*

Die Phuduhutšwana seksie het die Maidi as hulle onderdane beskou wat ook by hulle kom aansluit het en het gevolglik van hulle belastings ge-eis. Die Maidi seksie wou egter nie onder die Phuduhutšwana staan nie en het verkies om liewer 'n onafhanklike stam te wees onderdanig aan hul eie kaptein, Maidi. Sedertdien het daar tussen die Phuduhutšwana en die Maidi 'n geskil oor leierskap bestaan wat, na my bevinding, nie voor 1927 finaal opgelos is nie. Ten spyte van hierdie skynbaar onoorkomelike geskil het die Maidi egter, omdat hulle maar min was, altyd in die onmiddellike nabyheid van die Phuduhutšwana bly woon. Van Dikgatlhong af het hulle saam met die Phuduhutšwana getrek na Dinokaneng en vandaar na Dithakong, naby Kuruman, waar Lichtenstein en Burchell hulle in 1805 en 1812 respektiewelik aangetref het. Nie een van hierdie twee here maak egter in hulle werke van die Maidi melding nie.

(b) *Die Maidi deur Moffat gevind*

R. Moffat[31] noem die eerste keer die naam van die Maidi in verband met 'n stamvergadering wat die Phuduhutšwana op 13 Junie 1823 te Dithakong gehou het. Al die stamme in die omgewing en ook die sendelinge van die Londense Sendinggenootskap is bedreig geword deur 'n aanval van die Mantatisi horde. Toe dit bekend word dat die Mantatisi aan die kom was, het Mothibi, kaptein van die Phuduhutšwana, 'n groot vergadering belê van al die stamme in sy nabyheid, en ook die Maidi was op hierdie vergadering teenwoordig. In 1826 het Moffat 'n klompie statjies by Chwaeng (Soutpan) in die distrik Vryburg, gevind wat deur „ Bamairis " bewoon is. Moffat berig ook dat toe die Phuduhutšwana in 1836 hulle hoofstat te Taung gehad het, die stam insluitende die „ Bamairis " amper 20,000 siele getel het. Ongelukkig meld Moffat nêrens

[31] *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa.* London. 1842. pp. 347-353, 459, 591.

wie die kaptein van die Maidi was waar hy met hulle in aanraking gekom het nie.

(c) *Volkstrekke van die Maidi*

Die Maidi vertel dat hulle in die tyd toe Mahure die Phuduhutšwana regeer het (omtrent 1826-1869) van Dithakong af getrek het, saam met die Phuduhutšwana, na Sandbult. Dit is waar die Landbou-afdeling van die Department van Naturellesake vir die distrik Taung tans gestasioneer is, omtrent 'n myl van die Taung spoorwegstasie af waar die Phuduhutšwana destyds hulle hoofstat gehad het, en omtrent 3 myl van waar dit tans geleë is. Hiervandaan het die Maidi getrek na 'n plek naby Bloemhof wat hulle die naam van Diolwaneng gegee het. Vandaar het hulle getrek na Kromellenboog naby Christiana. Hierdie plek het hulle genoem Dikopaneng. Hulle het ook 'n tyd lank gebly by Magoditsaneng, Wes van Christiana. Later van tyd het hulle na Manthe getrek waar hulle vandag nog woon, omtrent 10 myl van die huidige hoofstat van die Phuduhutšwana in die Taung Naturellereserwe. Hulle word op 7,000 siele geskat en staan onder hul eie kaptein, Nyoko Kgantlapane, heeltemal afsonderlik en onafhanklik van die Phuduhutšwana.

5. *GESKIEDENIS VAN DIE PHUDUHUTŠWANA*

Soos reeds aangetoon, het die Phuduhutšwana nadat hulle die moederstam verlaat het, 'n armoedige bestaan gevoer hoofsaaklik omdat hulle maar min en te swak was om hulle teen aanvalle van ander stamme te beskerm. Die feit dat hulle half-broers, die Maidi, by hulle kom aansluit het, het hul geledere aansienlik versterk. Die eerste groot oorwinning oor 'n ander stam het hulle behaal toe hulle onder die vernuftige leiding van hul kaptein, Mashwe, die moederstam verslaan het. Van hierdie tydperk af het die stam 'n rooskleuriger toekoms tegemoet gegaan. Ook het baie lede van die Boesmans en veral Korannas by die Phuduhutšwana aangesluit en hul geledere versterk. Mashwe, die kaptein, het selfs so ver gegaan om 'n Korannavrou as een van sy vrouens te neem, en hoewel sy maar die derde vrou in rang was, het dit tog gebeur dat haar oudste seun, Molehabangwe, later tot die kapteinskap opgevolg het. Laasgenoemde het nog verder as sy vader gegaan en 'n Korannavrou as hoofvrou geneem, en sy kinders kon selfs die Korannataal goed praat.

Die Phuduhutšwana het later van tyd by 'n plekkie met die naam van Nokaneng gaan woon. Hier is Mashwe dood en deur Molehabangwe opgevolg. Dit moes omstreeks die jaar 1775 gewees het.

(a) *Opkoms van die Stam*

Molehabangwe het die hoofstat van Nokaneng waar dit vir die tydperk van min of meer 1770 tot 1797 was, na Kuruman en Dithakong verskuiwe. Molehabangwe moes 'n buitengewone persoonlikheid gewees het. Lichtenstein[32] wat hom in 1805 in sy hoofstat gesien het, beskrywe hom as volg: „A tall figure was . . . . presented to our view, having very marked features, (waarskynlik Hottentotse trekke) and appearing about sixty years of age; he was clothed in a large mantle and wore on his head a rough high pointed cap." Moffat[33] wat betroubare inligting oor hom kon inwin sê: „Molehabangwe . . . . appears from universal testimony, to have been a superior man, distinguished as a statesman as well as a warrior. His kindness to strangers was also proverbial." Die opbou van van die stam wat deur Mashwe begin is, is deur sy opvolger, Molehabangwe, met nog groter sukses voortgesit. Dit was onder sy bewind dat die stam as 't ware die toppunt van sy mag bereik het. Stow[34] sê van hom die volgende: „As his government became more settled, the scattered remnants of his tribe gathered round him, and notwithstanding that they were on several occasions nearly ruined by the pertinacious attacks of the marauding Korannas, they had nevertheless increased so in number that the commissioners Truter and Somerville, when they visited him at Lithako (Dithakong, naby Kuruman) in 1801, were not a little astonished to find so large and populous a town in such a remote part of the world. The number of houses they estimated to be between two and three thousand,

[32] *Op. cit.* p. 291.
[33] *Op. cit.* p. 215.
[34] *Op. cit.* p. 440. Vgl. Barrow. *Op. cit.* p. 391.

and that of the population, men women and children from ten to fifteen thousand." Volgens Burchell wat die stam in 1812 net kort na die dood van Molehabangwe besoek het, was die deursny van die hoofstat alleen 'n distansie van nagenoeg twee myl.[35]

(b) *Molehabangwe aangeval deur Korannas en Griekwas*

Die Tlhaping het egter in daardie tye nie in volmaakte rus en vrede gelewe nie. Hulle is gedurig aangeval deur naburige stamme wat gereeld hulle vee kom roof het. Na Stow berig, het die Korannas die Tlhaping kort na 1790 aangeval en hulle byna uitgedelg. Cornelis Kok, 'n Griekwa, het hulle vir 'n tydjie onder sy beskerming geneem, maar daarna het die Korannas hulle weer aangeval en hulle uit hulle hoofstat te Nokaneng verdrywe na 'n plekkie met die naam van Katuse en daarvandaan na die Kurumanrivier. Die Tlhaping het al hul beeste verloor en het byna van hongersnood omgekom. Hulle was verplig om op hulle beurt weer van ander stamme te roof en het vir hierdie doel niemand minder as die Korannas en die Griekwas uitgekies nie.

(c) *Vernuf van Molehabangwe*

Op 'n goeie dag het Molehabangwe te hore gekom dat die Griekwas as weerwraak 'n rooftog na sommige van sy veeposte onderneem het en onderweg was na sy hoofstat om diè aan te val. Ten einde die Tlhaping die skrik op die lyf te ja en sodoende hulleself teen 'n moontlike aanval van die oormag te vrywaar, het die Griekwas, wat met gewere gewapen was, voordat hulle by die hoofstat aangekom het, eers al hul leë sakke tot oor half met sand gegooi en 'n boodskap na die Tlhaping gestuur dat die vyand aan die kom was met soveel buskruit! Molehabangwe het egter tjoepstil bly sit. Toe die Griekwas by hom aankom, en dit nogal met sommige van die vee wat hulle van hom geroof het, het hy hulle aanvanklik met die grootste mate van gasvryheid en hoflikheid, waarvoor hy bekend was, onthaal asof hy niks van hulle rooftogte geweet het of enige agterdog teen hulle gekoester het nie. O.a. het hy aan hulle 'n paar beeste gegee om somar daar en dan te slag, maar hy het gesorg dat een van die beeste 'n buitengewoon wilde jong os was. Toe die beeswagters die beeste aan die Griekwas in die *kgotla* waar hulle vergader was, oorhandig, het hulle eenkant toe gestaan en padgegee voor. Die jong os het dadelik die loop geneem, die Griekwas het al hulle goed, gewere en „ buskruit" inkluis, net so daar laat lê en die verwilderde dier agterna gesit. Dit was net die geleentheid waarna Molehabangwe gesoek het. Dadelik het hy sy regimente beveel om die ongewapende Griekwas te agtervolg en uit te moor. Na berig word het daar van die 50 Griekwas ook net een ontvlug.

(d) *Aanval van die „ Matêbêle"*

Aan die einde van die regering van Molehabangwe is die Tlhaping aangeval deur 'n bende wat van uit die huidige Transkei-gebiede 'n rooftog na die Noord-weste onderneem het. Sommige van hulle was met gewere en ammunisie gewapen. Moontlik was dit 'n klompie Fingoes. Die Tlhaping het bétyds van hulle te hore gekom en vroegtydig al hul beeste van die hoofstat af weggestuur. Die „ Matêbêle," soos die Tlhaping hulle en ander Nguni noem, het die hoofstat aangeval, die oudste seun van die kaptein, nl. Mohamu-Pelu, doodgemaak, 'n klompie vee gebuit en teruggetrek.

(e) *Kennismaking met Blankes*

Dit was gedurende die tydperk toe Molehabangwe kaptein was dat die Tlhaping vir die eerste keer met blankes kennis gemaak het. Die heel eerste blanke met wie die Tlhaping in aanraking gekom het, was waarskynlik 'n sekere Kruger. Hierdie man en sy broer is omstreeks 1780 in die Kaap skuldig bevind aan die vervalsing van papiergeld en is toe verban na Robben-eiland. Hier het hulle dit reggekry om 'n bootjie van velle te maak waarmee hulle weer na die vasteland oorgekom het. Hulle het toe gevlug na die land van die „ Booshuanas" (Tlhaping) „ where the elder brother was trodden to death by an elephant and the present man had been living among the savages on the skirts of the colony, an outlaw and a vagabond, for nearly twenty years."[36] Die

[35] Burchell, W. J. *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa.* London. 1822. Vol. II p. 512. Vergelyk ook pp. 356 en 444.

[36] Barrow. pp. 383-4.

volgende blankes met wie die Tlhaping in aanraking gekom het, was 'n ekspedisie wat die Goewerneur van die Kaap in 1801 gestuur het om handelsbetrekkinge met die Tlhaping aan te knoop. Die ekspedisie het o.a. bestaan uit Dr. Somerville, Mnre Truter, Samuel Daniell, die kunstenaar, Borcherds, die plaasvervangende fiskaal van Kaapstad, nog 10 ander blankes en 'n klompie kleurlinge. Barrow berig dat Molehabangwe hierdie geselskap ontvang het „ without the least embarrassment, and in the most friendly manner." Hierdie handelsbesoek aan die Tlhaping het 15 dae geduur, nl. van 26 November tot 12 Desember, 1901.[37]

Kort hierna is 'n besoek deur twee sendelinge aan die Tlhaping gebring, nl. Edwards en Kok.[38] 'n Ander besoek van belang aan die Tlhaping was dié van Landdros van de Graaff, Henri Lichtenstein en nog 6 ander blankes in 1805. Hierdie geselskap is deur die Kaapse regering afgevaardig om die toestande van die nedersetting le Klaarwater (Griekwastad), 100 myl ten Suide van Kuruman, te ondersoek, maar hulle het van die geleentheid gebruik gemaak om ook 'n kort besoek aan die Tlhaping te bring.[39]

Na hierdie geselskap het dié van Dr. Cowan en kaptein Donovan gevolg in 1807, maar van hulle is nooit weer gehoor nie. Die vermoede is dat hulle op een of ander onverklaarbare manier in die binnelande omgekom het.[40]

In 1812 het Burcheli 'n besoek aan die Tlhaping gebring. Na hom het die sendelinge een na die ander gevolg: eers Campbell in 1812-13, en toe weer Evans en Hamilton in 1816, Campbell vir die tweede keer in 1820, en natuurlik die vernaamste van almal Robert Moffat in 1820.[41]

(f) *Die Bewind van Mothibe*

Molehabange is oorlede in Maart 1812 en is opgevolg deur Mothibi, die oudste seun wat van die hoofvrou toe nog gelewe het. Toe Burchell die stam by Dithakong in Junie 1812 besoek het, was Mothibi, toe omtrent 40 jaar oud, blykbaar reeds as kaptein van die stam geinstalleer. Toe Lichtenstein vir Mothibi in 1805 gesien het, het hy hom op 30 jaar geskat. Mens kan dus aanneem dat Mothibi omstreeks die jare 1772-75 gebore is toe die stam nog by Nokaneng was.[42] Hy is omstreeks 1838-40 oorlede.

Lichtenstein beskrywe vir Mothibi as volg: „ he had a very pleasing countenance with much intelligence in his features. The friendly eagerness of Mothibe . . . made a strong impression on me. I was much delighted with the *naivette* of his gestures."[43]

Mothibi was 'n baie bedrywige persoonlikheid en baie belangrike gebeurtenisse het tydens sy bewind plaasgevind. Hy het die ou gewoonte van die stam om vee van naburige stamme te roof met vasberadenheid voortgesit. Om honderde myle selfs deur dele van die Kalahari af te lê, was vir hom en sy regimente geen swarigheid nie, en afwesigheid van die hoofstat vir tydperke van ses maande en langer was in sy tyd geen buitengewone of onbekende verskynsel nie. Kort nadat hy kaptein geword het, het hy by voorbeeld 'n sterk kommando na Suidwes-Afrika gestuur om die vee van die Ambo te gaan roof. Hy het etlike sulke rooftogte teen die Ambo uitgestuur en het eens op 'n tyd self 'n dergelyke ekspedisie onderneem en by dié geleentheid tien maande van die hoofstat af weggebly.[44] Hy het die Ngwaketse as sy aartsvyande beskou, en hulle het mekaar gedurig oor en weer aangeval. Mothibi het eens op 'n tyd selfs die Kwena aangeval, 200 myl van sy eie hoofstat af.

In 1823 is die Tlhaping aangeval deur die Mantatisi bende onder Chuane en Karaganye[45] maar met behulp van sowat 80 gewapende Griekwas wat net betyds opgedaag het, het dit Mothibi geluk om die aanval af te slaan. Hierna het die Korannas en die Boesmans in 'n lang tyd (van 1823 tot 1828) verwoesting onder die Tlhaping aangerig en ellende en hongersnood veroorsaak. Uiteindelik het die Tlhaping daarin ge-

[37] Burchell, p. 305. Moffat, p. 215, Barrow, pp. 366, 388-9, 408.
[38] Moffat, pp. 215-221.
[39] Burchell. Vol. II. p. 305. Moffat. pp. 223-4.
[40] Moffat. *loc. cit.*
[41] Moffat. pp. 228-346. MacKenzie, John. *Ten Years North of the Orange River*. Edinburgh. 1871. pp. 67-69.
[42] Burchell. p. 491 ff.
[43] Lichtenstein, pp. 292 en 307.
[44] Campbell. 1815. pp. 217-8. Vgl. ook Campbell. 1822. Vol, II. pp. 116-119.
[45] Vergelyk Moffat, p. 360.

slaag om 'n groot bende Korannas in 'n hinderlaag te lei en op 'n paar na almal uit te moor.

Gedurende al hierdie wisselvallighede het die Tlhaping hulle hoofstat afwisselend gehad by Kuruman en Dithakong wat naby mekaar geleë is. Vir die Tlhaping was dit 'n tydperk van groot onrus. In omstreeks 1829-30 het die stam in verskillende seksies begin opbreek.[46] Sommige het in die rigting van die Vaalrivier in die Suide gevlug en nooit weer teruggekeer nie; baie het eenvoudig van die hoofstat af weggetrek sonder dat hulle presies geweet het waarheen om te gaan. Die hoofstat het gedurig in gevaar verkeer. Mothibi het mettertyd self onveilig begin voel en het besluit om Kuruman te verlaat en by die Griekwas onder Adam Kok te Philippolis te gaan aansluit. Die oorgrote meerderheid van die stam was egter gekant teen so 'n plan en het geweier om vir Mothibi te volg. Saku, 'n jonger broer van Mothibi, wat met 'n gedeelte van die stam by Dithakong gewoon het, het voet by stuk geweier om saam te trek. Mahure, 'n ander jonger broer van Mothibi het eers 'n end saamgetrek maar toe omgedraai terug na die hoofstat toe, te Kuruman. Mothibi wat die seun was van 'n Koranna vrou, het blykbaar nie goed kon klaarkom met sy halfbroers Mahure en Saku nie wie se moeder tweede in rang was maar tog 'n Tlhaping van geboorte was. 'n Oom van Mothibi met die naam Lephoi het hom egter vergesel maar dit was nie lank nie of ook hy kon nie langer met Mothibi klaarkom nie. Hy het besluit om die Oranje-Vrystaat in te trek. Hy is waarskynlik die stamvader van die Tlhaping wat vandag nog daar woon.

Mothibi was egter gedetermineerd en het met 'n klein gevolg in elk geval sover getrek as die samevloeiing van die Vaal- en Groot Rietrivier waar hy sy stat gebou het.

Mahure en Saku en hulle volgelinge aan die ander kant het die standpunt ingeneem dat Mothibi die stam in 'n tyd van groot gevaar en moeilikhede in die steek gelaat het en sodoende sy aanspraak op die kapteinskap van diè seksie wat by hulle agtergebly het, verbeur het. Die huis van Molale, die oudste seun van die tweede vrou van Molehabangwe, dus ook 'n halfbroer van Mothibi, is toe in Dithakong beskou as die huis op wie die kapteinskap van diè seksie van die stam wat daar agtergebly het, volgens die reëls van opvolging moes vererf. Maar Molale is toe reeds 'n paar jaar tevore, nl. 1826, op 'n jagtog deur leeus gevang en verskeur op 'n plekkie met die naam van Morwathotlang, diep in die Kalahari.[47] Mankurwane, sy oudste seun en regmatige opvolger, is eers 'n paar maande na hierdie gebeurtenis gebore sodat hy nog te jonk was om tot die vakante pos van kapteinskap op te volg. Sy oom, Mahure, die volgende broer van oorlede Molale, het toe die stam as 'n regent regeer in die plek van Mankurwane wat nog minderjarig was.

(g) *Die Phuduhutšwana trek na Taung toe*

Die leierskap van die stam het dus deur die abdikasie van die kaptein, Mothibi, oorgegaan op die oudste verteenwoordiger van die tweede huis van die vorige kaptein, nl. Molale. Mahure wat namens die opvolger van Molale as hoof opgetree het, het besluit om Dithakong te verlaat en te gaan woon by Taung, die eertydse hoofstat van die moederstam. 'n Klein gedeelte van die stam het egter verkies om by die sendingstasie van die Londense Sendinggenootskap te Kuruman agter te bly, en Mahure het sy suster, Marenyane, aangestel as die hoof van hierdie seksie van die stam. Dit het omstreeks die jare 1830-36 plaasgevind. Mahure en sy jonger broer, Saku, wat sy veggeneraal was, het toe met die groot meerderheid van die stam op trek gegaan en hulle hoofstat gaan aanlê 100 myl ten Ooste van Kuruman op 'n plek omtrent 100 tree ten Weste van die huidige Taung spoorwegstasie. Terselfdertyd het ook die Maidi gekom en hulle hoofstat gebou by Sandbult, omtrent 'n myl van die huidige spoorwegstasie. Die Phuduhutšwana het egter nie lank hier gebly nie. Hulle het besluit om hulle hoofstat by Mamusa (Schweizer Reneke) in die Transvaal te gaan bou maar ook hier het hulle nie al te lank gebly nie of hulle het weer

[46] Moffat. pp, 479-80

[47] Vgl. Moffat. pp. 445-6. Een segsman, Daumas, wat altyd baie betroubare gegewens oor die geskiedenis van die stam verskaf het, meen dat Molale ná die abdikasie van Mothibi dood is, maar in die lig van die gegewens deur Moffat verstrek, wat ooggetuie van al hierdie gebeure was, kan dit nie as korrek aanvaar word nie.

teruggetrek Taung toe om hulle hoofstat te bou waar dit vandag nog geleë is, omtrent vier myl van die oorspronklike plek af.

(h) *Boere in die Oranje-Vrystaat geplunder*

Mothibi en sy volgelinge het nooit weer na die res van die stam teruggekeer nie. Hy is omstreeks 1838-40 oorlede te Gabodigélo en is toe opgevolg deur die oudste seun van sy tweede vrou, nl. Gasebonwe (Phetlhu, sy oudste seun, gebore in 1797, is reeds in 1825 oorlede). Jantjie wat in werklikheid die oudste seun in jare was maar van 'n vrou van laer status, het na die dood van sy vader met sy volgelinge afgesplits, waarskynlik as gevolg van 'n twis oor leierskap, sodat die Mothibi seksie van die Tlhaping nog verder opgebreek is in die Gasebonwe seksie en die Jantjie seksie. Jantjie het met sy volgelinge gaan woon by Dikgatlhong en Gasebonwe by Phokwani, omtrent 20 myl van Taung af.

In die jaar 1857 toe die Boere van die Oranje-Vrystaat in 'n oorlog met Moshweshwe van Basotholand gewikkel was, het 'n klompie Boesmans van die geleentheid gebruik gemaak om 'n klompie plase in die Westelike gedeeltes van die Oranje-Vrystaat te plunder, sommige van die vrouens en kinders dood te maak en van die vee te buit. Hierdie Boesmans het toe by Gasebonwe te Phokwani gaan skuiling soek. 'n Tydjie na hierdie gebeurtenis het Phôhuetsile en Gasebonwe, beide van die Mothibi seksie, en, na sommige beweer, Motlhabani, kaptein van die Maidi seksie, dieselfde boereplase en ander in hulle omgewing en in die Transaval saam met dieselfde Boesmans gaan plunder. Kort hierna het die Boere teruggekom, spoorgevat en na lank gesoek 'n paar van die Boesmans gekry en hulle van kant gemaak. Phôhuetsile het probeer om die Boere in 'n hinderlaag te lok maar hy is in die geveg doodgeskiet en sy volgelinge verjaag. Die Boere het daarna ook vir Gasebonwe en Motlhabani aangeval. Na berig word het hulle eersgenoemde wat in 'n geveg doodgeskiet is se kop afgesny, in 'n sak gesteek en met twee meide na Mahure gestuur, iets wat hom met skrik en ook met vrees vervul het. Intussen het die Maidi en die volgelinge van Gasebonwe na Mahure te Taung gevlug om by hom skuiling en veiligheid te soek. Die Boere het egter van Mahure die uitlewering van hierdie oortreders asook van hulle vee ge-eis. Mahure was dadelik in 'n moeilike posisie geplaas. Hy was nie ten gunste van die strooptogte van Gasebonwe en die Maidi nie en het verkies om in vrede met die Boere te lewe. Saku, sy veglustige broer wat hoof was van die regimente, het hom egter aangehits om nie hulle bloedverwante in die steek te laat nie en om hulle teen die Boere te beskerm. Bloed is dikker as water. Mahure het geweier om die gesteelde vee aan die Boere te oorhandig of om die misdadigers aan hulle uit te lewer. Hy persoonlik het gevlug en vir Mankurwane, die jeugdige opvolger tot die kapteinskap, saam met 'n paar raadslede met hom meegeneem, sommige meen na Kuruman toe ander meen na 'n plekkie met die naam van Moshweo in die distrik Vryburg.

Die Boere het op die weiering van hul eise op die hoofstat van die Phuduhutšwana afgestorm. Op die walle van die Hartzrivier, omtrent 700 tree ten Noorde van die huidige kantoor van die Naturelle-kommissaris, het 'n kort maar hewige geveg tussen die Boere en die Tlhaping plaasgevind. Hier is Saku doodgeskiet. Die Tlhaping het op die vlug gegaan en by die Buxton kalkmyn is hulle verder 'n verpletterende neerlaag toegedien.

Die Tlhaping het daar en dan in die afwesigheid van Mahure besluit om onder Mase, sy seun, vrede met die Boere te sluit. Volgens Brown het hulle onderneem om van die gesteelde goed (beeste, perde en gewere) terug te gee, „ and to hand over ten of the murderers, and in addition to pay an indemnity. They further agreed that if the reparations were not paid within three months the Boers should have the right to a strip of their country."[48] Of hierdie vredesvoorwaardes in werklikheid aan die Tlhaping gestel is en of hulle daaraan voldoen het, kan ek nie met sekerheid sê nie.

[48] Brown. p. 211. Volgens MacKenzie is die skadeloosstelling vasgestel op 8,000 beeste, 300 perde, 500 gewere, " and 10 men who had committed a certain murder." MacKenzie, J. *Ten Years North of the Orange River.* Edinburgh. 1871. p. 87. Vgl. ook Agar-Hamilton, J. A. I. *The Road to the North.* London. 1937. p. 27.

(i) *Die Bewind van Mankurwane*

Mahure het 'n vredeliewende geaardheid gehad en het oorloë of moeilikhede in enige vorm probeer vermy. Vandat hulle vrede met die Boere gemaak het, het daar vrede geheers tot sy dood toe in 1869.[49] Hy is die eerste regeerder van die Tlhaping wat in die hoofkraal te Taung begrawe is. Na sy dood het Mankurwane, die oudste seun van Molale, wettiglik kaptein van die Phuduhutšwana seksie van die Tlhaping geword. Gedurende die bewind van hierdie kaptein het gebeurtenisse van buitengewone belang vir die stam plaasgevind. Eers was daar die Rebellie teen die Kaapse owerheid in Griekwaland-wes in 1878-9 waarin die Tlhaping betrokke geraak het. Daarna het die Koranna-oorlog van 1881-2 uitgebreek waarin die Boere 'n groot aandeel gehad het, en toe weer die stigting van die twee Boere Republieke van Stellaland en Gosen in 1882, en die proklamering van Bechuanaland as 'n Britse Protektoraate in 1885. Dit was ook die eerste keer dat die Tlhaping saam met die Republieke hul onafhanklikheid verloor het en onder die administrasie van die blanke gekom het. Mankurwane het 'n heeltemal nuwe tydperk in die geskiedenis van die Tlhaping ingelui.

(i) *Die Griekwaland-wes-Rebellie*

Die administrasie van Griekwaland-wes onder Owen Lanyon was om verskillende redes baie onpopulêr onder die inboorlinge. Sake het tot 'n klimaks gekom toe die Griekwas op 16 Mei 1878 vir Thompson naby Griekwastad vermoor het. Twee weke later het die Griekwas, hierdie keer bygestaan deur die Tlhaping van Botlhasitse, die opvolger van Gasebonwe, die twee Burnessbroers te Daniëlskuil vermoor. Kolonel Warren, is met 'n troepemag gestuur om die rebellie te onderdruk. Na etlike neerlae het Botlhasitse na Mankurwane te Taung gevlug om by hom skuiling en beskerming teen die Britse troepe te soek. Mankurwane wat geweet het van die vorige geval toe sy stam deur die toedoen van dieselfde mense betrokke geraak het in 'n oorlog waarmee hulle aanvanklik niks te doen gehad het nie en waardeur hulle aansienlike skade gely het, het botweg geweier om hom en die stam weer in so 'n affêre te laat sleep. Vir hom was daar net een weg oop en dit was om vir Botlhasitse te vang en aan die Britse regering uit te lewer. In 'n geveg wat ontstaan het, het Botlhasitse egter ontsnap, maar is nie ver van Taung af nie weer gevang en na die gevangenis te Kimberley vervoer.

(ii) *Die Koranna-oorlog van 1881*

In 1881 het moeilikheid ontstaan oor beeste tussen Mankurwane en Pharatlhatlhe (bekend as David Moshweo of Massouw) kaptein van die Korannas wat by Schweizer Reneke (Mamusa) in die Transvaal gewoon het. Hierdie moeilikheid het vir byna twee jaar aangehou. Mankurwane is twee keer deur die Korannas verslaan wat bygestaan is deur 'n klompie Boere. Pharatlhatlhe het hulle 'n stuk van Mankurwane se grondgebied belowe as hulle hom sou help om die Tlhaping te verslaan. Toe hulle die grond van hom eis het hy geweier om dit aan hulle te gee op grond van die feit dat Mankurwane, hoewel verslaan, nog nie uit sy stamgebied verdryf was nie. Mankurwane het hierop die hulp van die Kaapse regering teen die Korannas ingeroep. Die Kaapse regering het egter geweier en Mankurwane roep toe o.a. ook die hulp in van 'n klompie Boere en belowe hulle 'n sekere stuk van sy grondgebied as hulle hom sou help om vir Moshweo te verslaan.[50] Hiertoe het die Boere geredelik toegestem omdat hulle self lus gehad het om vir Moshweo op sy plek te sit. Hy is toe aangeval, verslaan en sy hoofstat geplunder.

Mankurwane het sy belofte getrou nagekom deurdat hy die gebied wat hy self nie bewoon het nie maar waaroor hy tog jurisdiksie gehad het, aan die Boere gegee het. Onmiddellik daarna het die Boere die Republiek van Stellaland oor hierdie gebied uitgeroep met Vryburg as die hoofstat daarvan en Gert van Niekerk as die President. Dit het gebeur op 26 Julie 1882 en in Oktober van dieselfde jaar het onder min of meer dieselfde omstandighede die Republiek van Gosen tot stand gekom in 'n aangrensende gebied wat deur Moshwette, kaptein van die Rolong,

[49] MacKenzie, p. 89.

[50] Brown. p. 213. Stockenström, Eric. *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, 1700-1914. Stellenbosch. 1928. p. 390. ff.

aan die Boere toegeken is as 'n vergoeding vir die hulp wat hulle hom verleen het in die stryd om die kapteinskap teen sy broer Montshiwa.[51]

Oor die kwessie van hierdie Republieke laat Stockenström hom as volg uit: „Volgens die mening van Rhodes en ander Kaapse Staatmanne was daar 'n gevaar dat die nuwe republieke met die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek sou verenig en dat die handelsweg na die noorde daardeur vergoed versper sou word. Hy het al sy kragte ingespan om die Scanlen-ministerie te beweeg om genoemde state by die Kaapkolonie in te lyf, daar die steeds toenemende wedywer om die besit van grondgebied in Afrika die versekering van daardie sendingpos 'n dringende noodsaaklikheid gemaak het. Die toenmalige Britse regering—die Beaconsfield-ministerie—het beslis geweier om Sir Bartle Frere se voorstel om die hele land tot by die Koenenierivier te annekseer, aan te neem." Kort hierna „het President Kruger „in die belange van die mensheid" Gosen geannekseer. Hy het daardie daad egter onderhorig aan die goedkeuring van die koningin gemaak. Hierdie stap het egter groot verontwaardiging in die Kolonie en Engeland veroorsaak. Rhodes het 'n alarmkreet om Britse inmenging aangehef, en die Transvaalse regering het die anneksasie gekanselleer. Die regering het daarop 'n leer van sowat sesduisend man onder bevel van Sir Charles Warren uitgestuur om die klompie weerstrewige burgers (300) uit Gosen te verdrywe. Die Kaapse regering het geweier om Betsjoeanaland oor te neem." Die republieke is in elk geval tot niet verklaar en in 1885 het die gebied waaruit hulle bestaan het tesame met die aangrensende gebiede, insluitende dié van die Tlhaping en Rolong, onder imperiale beheer as 'n Britse protektoraat gekom onder die naam British Bechuanaland.[52] Dit is die eerste keer in hulle geskiedenis dat die Tlhaping onder dié beheer van 'n vreemde moondheid gekom het en daar 'n stelsel van Naturelle-administrasie oor hulle ingestel is. Tien jaar later, in 1895, het die Britse regering hierdie gebied by die Kaapkolonie ingelyf en die administrasie daarvan opgedra aan die Kaapse regering.

(j) *Die Langeberg Rebellie*

Mankurwane wat die kaptein van die Tlhaping gedurende hierdie tydperk was, is in 1892 oorlede en opgevolg deur sy oudste seun Molale. Kort na die inlywing van Brits Bechuanaland by die Kaapkolonie in 1895 het die runderpes uitgebreek. Toe die Kaapse regering die beeste van die Tlhaping begin doodskiet het ten einde te verhoed dat die pes na die Suide toe uitbrei, het dié deel van die Tlhaping te Phokwane, wat nou onder die leiding gestaan het van Galishiwe, 'n kleinkind van Gasebonwe en agter-kleinkind van Mothibi, 'n paar handelaars vermoor en openlik teen die owerhied in opstand gekom. Troepe is uitgestuur om hulle onder beheer te kry. Die Naturelle het almal na die Langeberge gevlug waar hulle vir 'n paar maande lank vasgekeer en toe gevange geneem is. Man, vrou en kind is toe na die Kaap gestuur waar hulle as arbeiders uitgehuur is. Galishiwe self is vir 'n lang tyd opgesluit. Baie van die wat weggestuur was het later weer teruggekom Phokwani toe net om uit te vind dat al hul grond deur die Kaapse regering gekonfiskeer en in plase opgesny is. Sommige van hulle is egter toegelaat om daar te woon en woon vandag nog daar onder leiding van Botlhasitse II, die opvolger van Galishiwe wat in 1927 dood is. Die res woon oral verspreid in die Unie. Hierdie Botlhasitse meen nog dat hy die verteenwoordiger van die Mothibi-huis is en dus 'n regmatige aanspraak op die opperhoofskap van die Tlhaping het, 'n eis wat natuurlik heeltemal teenstrydig is met die Tlhaping se reëls van opvolging tot die kapteinskap.

(k) *Opvolging van Molale en Kgosietsile*

Molale is oorlede op 16 April 1920. Sy oudste seun Thapama is reeds voor hom dood. Ook Mollapêba, die oudste seun van Thapama is klein dood sodat Kgosietsile (die kaptein het gekom) die naaste erfgenaam vir die kapteinskap was. By die afsterwe van Molale was Kgosietsile egter nog nie geïnisieer nie met die gevolg dat hy nie tot die kapteinskap kon opvolg nie en dit dus nodig was om 'n regent aan te stel. Rabodigêlo, die jonger broer van Thapama en die tweede seun

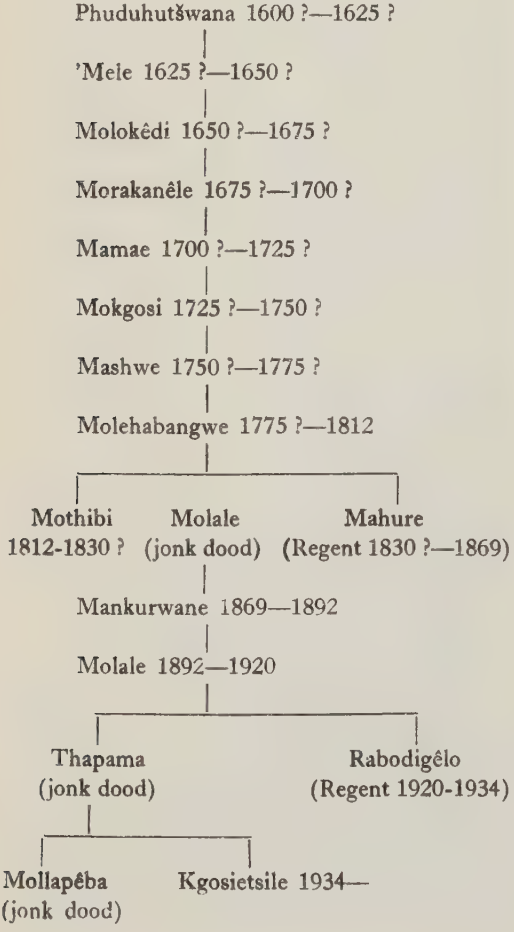
[51] Stockenström, E. *Handboek van die Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika tussen 1652 en 1892.* Stellenbosch. 1922. pp. 274-278.

[52] Stockenström, 1928. pp. 391-393 en Stockenström, 1922. pp. 275-278.

van Molale, is toe as die regent aangewys. Gedurende sy leeftyd het daar nie eintlik iets van belang vir die stam gebeur nie. Hy het die stam regeer tot by sy dood in 1934 toe Kgosietsile, wat intussentyd geïnisieer is, as die wettige kaptein geïnstalleer is. Hy is vandag 'n jong man van omtrent 38 jaar oud. Sy oudste seun Mankurwane is reeds dood; die tweede kind is 'n dogter en die derde 'n seun, wat ook sy opvolger is, met die naam van Kgosikeehe (Kgosi-ke-ehe: wie is die kaptein ?)

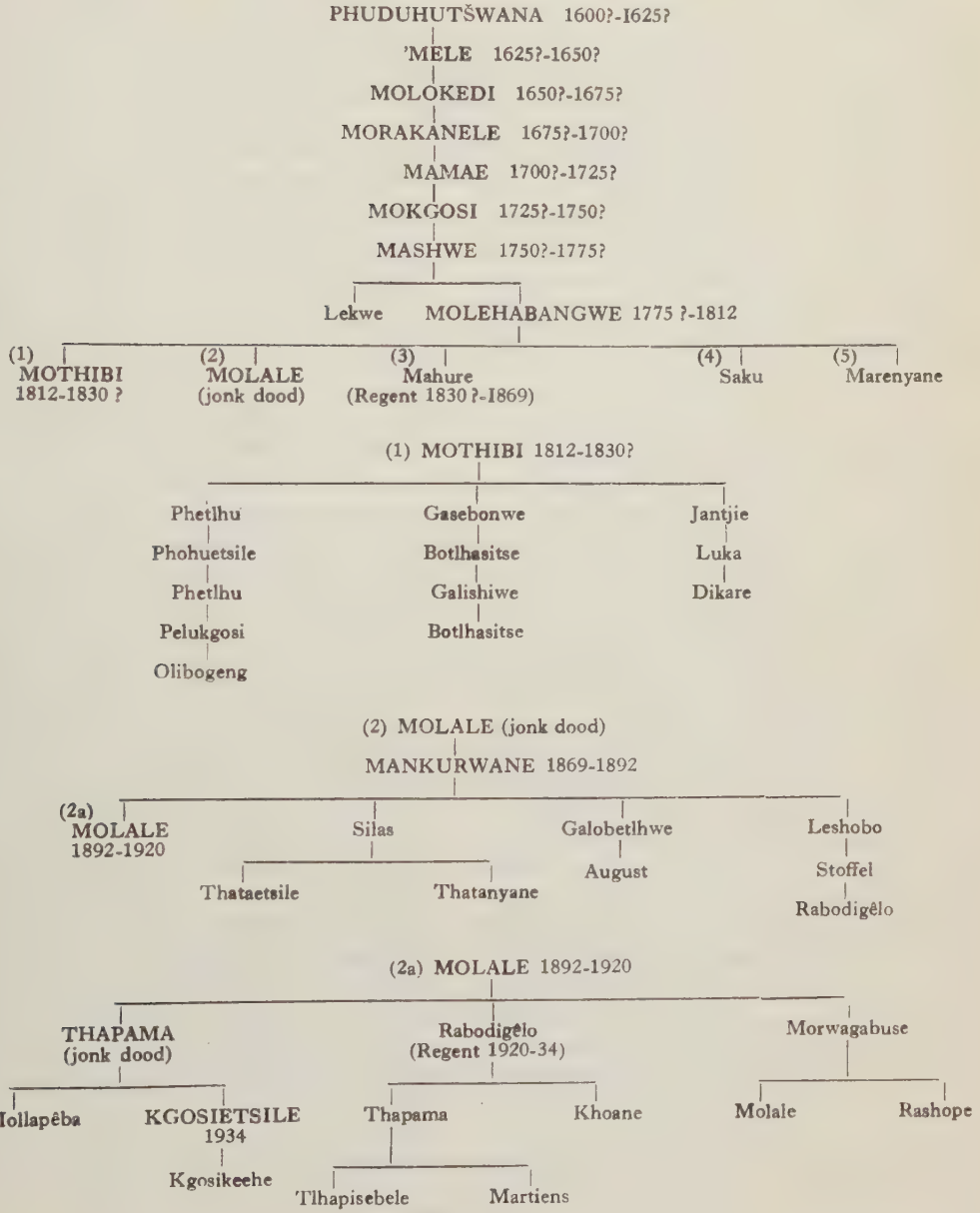
BYLAE I

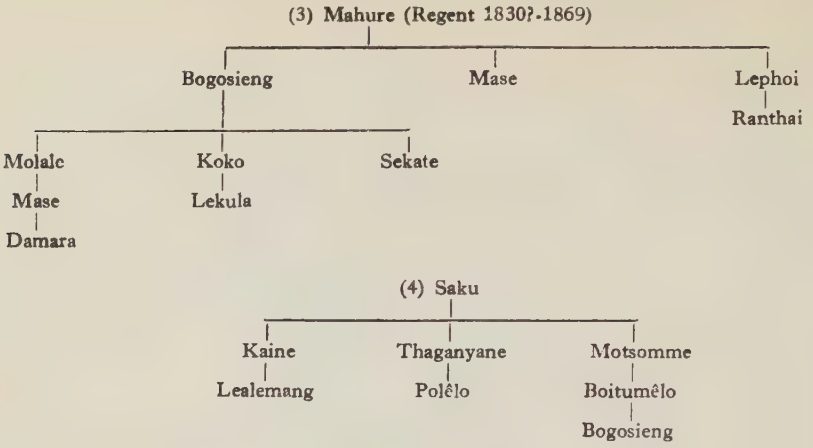
STAMBOOM VAN TLHAPING KAPTEINS (PHUDUHUTŠWANA SEKSIE)



BYLAE II

STAMBOOM VAN DIE KAPTEINSFAMILIE VAN DIE TLHAPING (PHUDUHUTŠWANA SEKSIE)




(3) Mahure (Regent 1830?-1869)
Bogosieng
Mase
Lephoi
Ranthai
Molale
Koko
Sekate
Mase
Lekula
Damara

(4) Saku
Kaine
Thaganyane
Motsomme
Lealemang
Polêlo
Boitumêlo
Bogosieng

SUMMARY

The Tlhaping may be described as a number of politically independent but genealogically and culturally closely related tribes belonging to the Tšwana cluster of the so-called Sotho group of Bantu speaking peoples. Most of the Tlhaping inhabit the area known as British Bechuanaland, but small sections are also found in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, in the Western Transvaal, and in some parts of the Orange Free State. The overwhelming majority of the Tlhaping, however, counting about 22,000 souls, are to-day organised into two independent political sections or tribes known by their ancestral names as the Phuduhutšwana which is the main section consisting of more or less 15,000 members, and the Maidi which is the smaller section consisting of about 7,000 members. These two sections each under its own chief jointly occupy an area of land about 200,000 morgen in extent officially designated as the Taung Native Reserve which is about one half portion of the magisterial district of Taung, the other half being occupied by Europeans.

On the origin of the Tlhaping various theories have been assumed by the earlier writers. Barrow e.g. was of the opinion that the Tlhaping were of Arab descent because of " their pastoral life, their feeding principally on milk, their hospitality to strangers, their practice of circumcising male children, and the general cast of the countenance." S. S. Dornan reckoned that they migrated from the North, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Great Lakes "the original home of the Bantu." Theal simply stated that the Tlhaping were the first Tšwana tribe to settle in the South during the early centuries, closely followed by the Rolong who similarly came from the North. Modern research, however, has brought to light that the Tlhaping originated during the last decade of the 16th or the first decade of the 17th century during which time they hived off from their ancestors, the Rolong, in two sections under the leadership of Phuduhutšwana and Maidi respectively, and that they obtained full political independence during the reign of the well known Rolong Chief Tau who died in the year 1760.

The Tlhaping first settled at Dikgatlhong near the junction of the Hartz and Vaal River where they lived in such dire poverty that they were compelled to subsist chiefly on fish caught in the Vaal River. On account of this they were aptly nicknamed Ba-tlhapi-ng (men of the fish place) by the Rolong. It may be pointed out in passing that the fish (*tlhapi*) has no totemic significance to the Tlhaping, as some would assert, their only totemic animal being the koodoo (*thôlo*) the same as that of the Rolong. In their desolation the Tlhaping wandered from one place to the other freely mixing with Bushmen and Hottentot until they finally settled at Kuruman under their distinguished chief Molehabangwe who died in March, 1812. It was during the reign of this chief that the Tlhaping for the first time came into contact with Europeans.

Molehabangwe was succeeded by Mothibi under whose bad rule the tribe began to split up into several sections (1830). In addition they were continuously being harassed by the Bushmen, Hottentots and Griquas, and in 1836 they decided to shift their headquarters from Kuruman to Taung where it is still situated to-day. Subsequent to that the Tlhaping became involved in difficulties with governments and peoples of an higher order: first with the Dutch of the Transvaal, then with the Cape Government and finally with the British Government who proclaimed their country as British territory in 1885 and annexed it to the Cape Colony in 1895.

All these events considerably disturbed the normal social, economic and political life of the Tlhaping causing not only dispersion but also spiritual degeneration of the tribe. The history of the Tlhaping clearly illustrates how all factors beyond the absolute control of the political head of the tribe, viz. the chief, can easily lead to the disintegration rather than the reintegration of the tribal organisation and culture.

THE NATIVE LANGUAGES OF SOUTH AFRICA

A REPORT ON THEIR PRESENT POSITION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO RESEARCH AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE

By C. M. DOKE

A consideration of the Summary of Recommendations (Section XI of the "Preliminary Investigation into the State of the Native Languages of South Africa," *Bantu Studies*, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1933, pp. 28-31) shows that in certain important respects these recommendations have been carried out, that some need modification and that others still urgently need attention. It would be advisable to bring the Bibliographies up to date.

The sections dealt with in the Summary of 1933 I now report upon *seriatim* as follows:

(*a*) *Bushman*

(*i*) The publication of Dr. Bleek's /xam Dictionary, or a Comparative Dictionary of Bushman dialects.

Work on a Dictionary of all Bushman languages and dialects is being carried on by Miss D. F. Bleek, and will require a further period to complete.

(*ii*) The continuation of the publication of /xam Texts.

Most of the /xam Texts collected by the late Dr. Bleek and Miss L. C. Lloyd have now been published, but some valuable ones are still unpublished.

(*iii*) An attempt to collect Proverb Lore.

This is still an urgent matter particularly among those tribes of South West Africa which have not as yet been properly studied.

(*iv*) The phonetical study of one of the Southern Bushman dialects.

"An Outline of ≠khomani Bushman Phonetics" by C. M. Doke (*Bantu Studies*, Vol. X, No. 4, 1936, pp. 433-460) completes in part this recommendation, but there are still certain groups of Bushmen of the southern area in both Cape Province and Transvaal whose phonetics still needs to be investigated.

(*v*) Research in Ngamiland.

This proposal has not yet been carried out and should be attempted.

A *sixth* proposal is now added:

(*vi*) It is an urgent matter that investigations into the grammar of the existing Bushman dialects *on a new basis* with true Bushman orientation should be carried out before these languages disappear.

(*b*) *Hottentot*

(*i*) The collection of further vernacular texts in Nama.

So far as we know nothing new (beyond a few texts published by R. Stopa in his *Teksty Hotentockie*, 1936 has been done in connection with this proposal; it is still possible to collect vernacular texts in Nama, and very desirable.

(*ii*) The collection of vernacular texts in Korana.

This is urgent, as most of the older informants are fast disappearing. In some cases it may be too late already. J. A. Engelbrecht has included a few in his book *The Korana*.

(*iii*) The publication of Beach's "*Phonetics of the Hottentot Language*," the Institute of African Languages and Cultures to be approached regarding its publication. See under (iv).

(*iv*) A treatise on Nama Tonetics.

These proposals ((*iii*) and (*iv*)) have been carried out with the publication of Dr. Beach's "*Phonetics of the Hottentot Language*" (W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1938, pp. 329).

(*v*) The preparation of an English-Nama and Nama-English Dictionary.

It is still very essential that an English-Nama and Nama-English Dictionary should be prepared.

(*vi*) The preparation of School Readers in Nama.

The policy of the Education Department in South West Africa is that of the mother-tongue medium up to and including Standard II. The reading matter in the first two standards is mainly based on Bible stories; there is therefore room for the provision of more school readers in Nama.

(*vii*) Encouragement towards writing of Biography or Novels by Nama Natives.

Nothing has yet been done towards the writing of biography or novels by Nama Natives. This is still desirable.

(For certain information regarding both Bushman and Hottentot I am indebted to Professor L. F. Maingard, University of the Witwatersrand.)

(*c*) *Xhosa*

(*i*) Preparation of an up-to-date grammar.

Mr. G. H. Welsh has edited a new edition of J. McLaren's Grammar under the title of *A Xhosa Grammar*. This contains certain material brought more up-to-date, and has been issued in the new orthography. Further, Dr. W. G. Bennie has published *A Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa-Speaking*. This has been written for the use of pupils and students in High and Normal Schools. Both works take the grammatical treatment of Xhosa a step forward, though there is probably still room for a more scientific grammatical treatment.

(*ii*) Publication of Xhosa Phonetics.

No special work on Xhosa Phonetics has yet been published, though phonetic treatment of the language is more up-to-date in the publications mentioned under (*i*) above than in previous grammatical works.

(*iii*) Revision of the Dictionary in approved orthography.

McLaren's *A Concise Kafir-English Dictionary* has been adapted by Dr. W. G. Bennie and published in the new orthography under the title of *A Concise Xhosa-English Dictionary*. There is still room for a larger, fuller dictionary of Xhosa in the new orthography. The Rev. R. Godfrey is busy on his revised edition of Kropf and Godfrey's Dictionary. This is being prepared in the new orthography.

(*iv*) Dialectal survey (common to all Nguni).

No survey of Nguni dialects has as yet been undertaken.

(*v*) Collection and publication of Folk tales.

Lovedale has published a book containing a few Xhosa fables in English and Xhosa, but we know of no systematic publication of Xhosa folk tales. This is something to which urgent attention should be given.

(*vi*) Translation into Xhosa of selected English classics.

The only version of an English classic translated into Xhosa since 1933, as far as we know, is Bangeni's translation of Bunyan's *Holy War*. This is another matter which should receive early consideration.

(*vii*) Collection of standard *izibongo* to be annotated and published.

Ndawo has published some *izibongo* of Hlubi origin, but apart from this nothing recent has been published in Xhosa to add to Rubusana's *Zemk' inKomo*, now out of print.

(*viii*) Collection of modern *izibongo* (as published in Native newspapers and elsewhere) to be made, annotated and published together. S. Mqhayi to be asked to undertake this.

Dr. W. G. Bennie has a considerable collection of modern *izibongo*, but as yet has had no opportunity to annotate and publish them. A collection by Mr. Mqhayi is being published as No. 7 of the "Bantu Treasury Series."

(*ix*) *Bird-lore* to be published in Xhosa by Rev. R. Godfrey.

Mr. Godfrey's MS. in English, entitled *Bird-lore of the Eastern Cape Province*, with bird-

names, Native allusions, proverbs and other folk-lore, given in Xhosa with English translations, has been published as No. 2 of the "Bantu Studies Monograph Series."

(*x*) Mqhayi's *Ityala la Mawele* to be translated into English, and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures to be approached re publication (translation to be referred to W. G. Bennie and D. Jabavu).
No steps have yet been taken towards the translation of Mqhayi's *Ityala la Mawele*. Dr. Bennie's whole time and attention have been devoted to the work upon the Xhosa Bible in the new orthography and he has been unable to touch this proposed work.

(*xi*) An investigation to be made into the influence of *ukuhlonipha* in Xhosa.
No investigation has yet been made.

(*xii*) A committee to be appointed (*a*) to choose suitable texts for translation from English into Xhosa (see (*vi*) above), and (*b*) to act as an advisory committee to further the publication of manuscripts now ready and to be presented.
Though the Christian Council of South Africa has appointed a Committee to encourage and stimulate the production and publication of Xhosa works, and though the Lovedale Press Committee under the Dr. R. H. W. Shepherd does considerable work in the direction of advising and furthering the publication of manuscripts, no committee has yet definitely undertaken the choosing of texts for translation from English into Xhosa. This is one of the things which should be done for each of the languages in the Union. Probably one committee or one investigation would serve the purpose for all languages alike. The Editor of the *S.A. Outlook* has made a feeler on behalf of the Lovedale Press in this direction.

(*xiii*) The possibility of training Native investigators to be explored.
A little in this direction is done at Fort Hare where training up to the requirements of third-year Xhosa is carried out, but we have no definite report of the direct training of Native investigators for research.

(For certain information regarding Xhosa I am indebted to Dr. W. G. Bennie of Alice.)

(*d*) *Zulu*

(*i*) Translation into Zulu of Mofolo's *Chaka*.
This suggestion has not been carried out; but instead a Zulu writer, R. R. R. Dhlomo, has written a serviceable book entitled *uShaka*, as well as biographical works dealing with Dingane and Mpande, while B. W. Vilakazi has produced an historical novel called *uDingiswayo ka Jobe* and N. S. Luthango has produced *uMohlomi*, a work which could well be translated into Southern Sotho.

(*ii*) Preparation of an English-Zulu Dictionary (D. McK. Malcolm to be asked to undertake this). See under (*iii*).

(*iii*) Preparation of a Zulu-English Dictionary in approved orthography (suggested that A. T. Bryant be approached for permission to use an abridgment of his 1905 work as a basis).
The Bantu Studies Department of the University of the Witwatersrand, in co-operation with the Native Education Department of Natal, has for nearly six years been engaged upon the preparation of a standard Zulu-English Dictionary in the approved orthography. The main preparation of this Dictionary is practically completed. Parallel with this work, preparations are being made for an English-Zulu Dictionary, work on which it is anticipated the Department will undertake after the other dictionary is completed.

(*iv*) Preparation of an annotated publication of Zulu proverbs (C. Faye to be approached in regard to this).
No steps have been taken in connection with this.

(*v*) History of the Zulu in the vernacular.
No definite History of the Zulu in the vernacular has been produced yet, but A. I. Molefe and T. Z. Masondo produced in 1938 *Ezondabu wezizwe Zabansundu*, a history of

the South African Native peoples, their contacts with one another and with Europeans. This is a definite advance.

(*vi*) An annotated collection of *izißongo*.

Only spasmodic work has been done upon this, apart from some definite research by B. W. Vilakazi which is as yet unpublished. There is still considerable scope for further work.

(*vii*) A comparative dialectal study of all Nguni.

Not yet undertaken. This is a proposal of very considerable importance.

(*viii*) A comparative grammar (including phonetics) of Xhosa, Zulu and Swazi, with reference to dialects.

This also has not yet been carried out, though a certain amount of work towards it has been done in the Nguni Chapter of the book *The Bantu Languages of Southern Africa*, which is not yet completed. D. P. J. van Zyl, a student of Stellenbosch University, is writing a dissertation on the Phonology and Grammar of Swazi; and at Pretoria University research on similar topics is under way. D. P. Hallowes has written a dissertation on the Grammar of Baca for the M.A. degree at the University of the Witwatersrand.

(*ix*) Collection of texts in folk-lore and customs in Zulu.

Considerable material dealing with folk-lore and customs has been published in the form of school readers by a number of Zulu writers, e.g. in *Isaßelo sikaZulu* by Lamula and Lutholuni, and in *Usambulele* by Molefe, and other similar publications. Texts, mainly on Zulu customs, are being collected by the Department of Bantu Studies at the University of Pretoria with a view to publication. Valuable texts collected by A. Myburgh for his dissertation on Zulu marriage laws will later be made available.

(*x*) Collection of texts in dialects such as Swazi, Ndeßele (Rhodesia and Transvaal).

This recommendation has yet to be carried out.

(*xi*) Stimulation of Native authors, the work of the Xhosa writers to be emulated.

Regarding this recommendation, Mr. D. McK. Malcolm reports "It would appear that the stimulation of Native authors has now come to the position where more material is being offered than the market can assimilate." It is obvious that the present period is one of considerably prolific writing by Zulu authors. Some very good works have been produced, others are now in the press, while in the case of others difficulty is being experienced in regard to securing publication. It is noticeable that works that can be used as school books secure publication while others meet with extreme difficulty before they see the light of print.

(*xii*) Further study of Tonetics.

Mr. D. P. Hallowes, student in the University of the Witwatersrand, has carried out considerable study of Tonetics in Zulu, but nothing of this has been published.

(*xiii*) Translation into Zulu of selected English classics.

Regarding this recommendation, the remarks under Xhosa (*xii*) above apply equally to Zulu.

(*xiv*) Preparation of a graded Reader for European learners.

As yet nothing has been done in regard to this matter.

(*xv*) Formation of a literature committee.

There is in being a Zulu Regional Committee set up by the Christian Council which is doing work of considerable value. In addition there is The Zulu Society which encourages and furthers literature development among other things. It seems unnecessary to consider the formation of any further committee beyond these. One suggestion might be that these two bodies should have a joint sub-committee, meeting mainly for the purpose of deciding points of detail in orthography or grammar which arise in the course of work carried out by various people in the Zulu field. Perhaps this suggestion might be communicated to both bodies.

(*e*) *Southern Sotho*

(*i*) Preparation of a *Life of Moshesh*. (T. Mofolo to be approached to write this, provided an outline be supplied, particularly regarding origins).
Nothing has yet been done in regard to this.

(*i*) Preparation of the *Story of Mohlomi* from a collection of the legends (Mofolo to be consulted).
This has not been carried out; but an alternative suggestion is that Luthango, author of the Zulu book *uMohlomi*, should issue a Southern Sotho translation of his work. It would be possible to arrange this with the publishers of his Zulu book, provided the Education Department in Basutoland were in a position to support the publication by using it in the schools.

(*iii*) D. C. Theko Bereng to be approached for further Sotho poetry.
Apart from occasional *lithoko* appearing in journals, we know of no further Sotho poetry being published. Bereng, who is now on military service, has prepared a poetical MS. which awaits a publisher.

(*iv*) Enlargement and rearrangement of Sekese's *Mekhoa le Maele* for a new edition.
This has not been carried out.

(*v*) Arrangements to be made for the publication of Sekese's other material, *Jonathan*, *Lipapali tsa Basotho*, etc.
This has not been carried out.

(*vi*) Preparation of a vernacular collection of *Tales of the Bushmen*.
This has not been carried out.

(*vii*) Collection of ethnological texts.
No systematic collection has been made, so far as we know.

(*viii*) Study of the tonetics of all Sotho. An M.A. thesis by a student H. D. Trümpelmann of the University of Pretoria on intonation in Sotho is in course of preparation.

(*ix*) An investigation into the Nguni element in Sotho.
This investigation has been carried out and prepared by G. E. Letele as an M.A. dissertation at Cape Town University.

(*x*) Preparation of a graded reader for European learners.
B. I. C. van Eeden has published *Ke Etela Lesotho*, an elementary reader for European learners.

(*xi*) Encouragement of vernacular writers.
P. Motlamelle's *Ngaka ea Mosotho* has been published as a result of direct encouragement.

(*xii*) Appointment of a committee to select texts for translation into Sotho.
See remarks on (*c*) (*xii*) above.

(*xiii*) Revision of orthography as a step towards more unity with the other members of the Sotho cluster.
No steps have been taken in this direction.

(*f*) *Northern Sotho*

(*i*) Thorough dialectal survey with object of standardising.
This has not yet been carried out.

(*ii*) Publication of the Grammar or Manual being prepared by G. P. Lestrade.
Though this recommendation has not yet seen fruition (Professor Lestrade reporting that his work upon this language is being incorporated into a comparative handbook of Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho and Tswana), two manuals have been published in connection with the grammar of Northern Sotho, namely, T. M. H. Endemann's *Handleiding by die aanleer van Transvaal-Sotho* (*Sepedi*) and G. H. Franz's *Thellenyane*.

(*iii*) Compilation of an authoritative Northern-Sotho-English and English-Northern-Sotho Dictionary.
We understand that Dr. N. J. van Warmelo is preparing an authoritative dictionary of Northern Sotho. T. M. H. Endemann has published a fairly long vocabulary entitled *Sotho-woordelys*.

(*iv*) Stimulation to be given to Native writers to produce works of an imaginative nature; Native teachers especially to be encouraged. Professor Lestrade reports that "*Kxomo 'a*

Thswa is the nearest approach to work of an imaginative nature produced by Native writers in this language during the period: but there have been two biographies, E. M. Ramaila's *Abraham Serote* and Charles Machaba's *Bophelô bya Moruti Charles Machaba I.* The other work published during the period in this language cannot be described as imaginative; and is not by Native writers."

(*g*) *Tswana*

(*i*) Dialectal survey with a view to standardisation.
Not yet carried out.

(*ii*) The preparation of an up-to-date grammar and a manual for the use of Europeans.
Not yet carried out.

(*iii*) Preparation of a graded Reader.
Not yet carried out.

(*iv*) Publication of an authoritative Dictionary (advantage to be taken of Plaatje's MS.).
Not yet carried out; the whereabouts of Plaatje's MSS. is still a mystery.

(*v*) Publication of the 2nd edition of Plaatje's collection of proverbs.
Not yet carried out. (See (*iv*) above).

(*vi*) Collection and publication of folk-lore.
Mr. D. M. Ramoshoana has a MS. entitled *Dilekwana*, a collection of valuable folk-lore material awaiting publication.

(*vii*) Encouragement to Natives to collect and publish texts of history, customs, etc.
Though we have no report of Native collections of texts concerning history, customs, etc., Schapera's *Mekgwa le Melaô ya Batswana* (already published) and his "Ethnographical texts in the Boloongwe dialect of SeKgalagadi" (*Bantu Studies* XII, pp. 157-187) and Kuhn's "Tschuana-textse" (*Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* XXVI, pp. 301-317) are collections of texts dealing with customs; and Schapera's historical texts, *Ditirafalô tsa Merafe ya Batswana* were published in 1940.

(*viii*) Publication of Plaatje's other translations of Shakespeare.
Only one other translation of Shakespeare by Plaatje has been discovered and this, *Julius Caesar*, was published as No. 3 of the Bantu Treasury Series in 1937 under the title of *Dintšhontšho tsa Bo-Juliuse Kesara*, edited by G. P. Lestrade; this first edition has just been sold out.

(*ix*) Preparation of a *Life of Khama* in Tswana.
A MS. by Mr. Raditladi on this subject awaits publication.

(*x*) Consideration of choice of texts for translation into Tswana.
Attention should be given to this (See (*c*) (*xii*) above). Mr. D. M. Ramoshoana has a MS. for publication dealing with Tales from Shakespeare.

(*h*) *Venda*

(*i*) Collection of ethnographic texts.
Certain ethnographic texts are being prepared.

(*ii*) Provision of elementary school books.
The *Mudededzi* series are elementary school books, and a hygiene reader *Mutakalo* has been published.

(*iii*) Collection of folk-lore material.
Kruger's "Venda-Märchen" (*Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* XXIV, pp. 1-14) and "Venda-Sagen" (*Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* XXV, pp. 147-155) are small collections of folk-lore material, and other collections have been made by Professor Lestrade.

(*iv*) Publication of a Manual (Lestrade).
Professor Lestrade reports that work on the Manual is proceeding.

(*v*) In 1937 Dr. N. J. van Warmelo published a valuable *Tshivenda-English Dictionary*.

(*j*) *Shangana-Tonga*

(*i*) Preparation of the grammar of the Tonga cluster.
This has not yet been done.

(*ii*) Collection of Texts in Folk-lore, etc.
We have no information upon this.

(*iii*) Publication of Tonga Dictionary.

Work on the Tonga Dictionary is being carried out by Cuénod and van Warmelo.

(For certain information regarding Sections (*e*), (*f*), (*g*), (*h*) and (*j*) I am indebted to Professor G. P. Lestrade, University of Cape Town.)

(*k*) *Herero and Ambo*

(*i*) Thorough survey, not only of dialect, but also of neighbouring affinities.

(*ii*) Preparation of a Grammar of Herero in English.

(*iii*) Preparation of a Herero-English Dictionary.

(*iv*) Collection of vernacular texts, Native effort to be encouraged in this direction.

So far as we know, none of the recommendations under this heading has been carried out.

NATIVE WAGES AND STANDARD OF LIVING IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

By R. J. B. MOORE

This whole question has changed very considerably in recent years. Just over a decade ago nearly all labour was of the casual type. A man would receive a month's work as carrier or on the roads, be given from 5s. to 8s. pay and spend it on tax or some small commodity he coveted. He could live and work in his own home for the remaining eleven months, so his one month's employment caused very little dislocation in the usual agricultural routine. To-day, however, there are two other quite distinct types of labour : there are those permanently employed near their homes and there is industrial labour. Each of the three groups makes its claim to a higher standard of living and deserves a hearing.

In a typical country district from 5 to 30 per cent of the men can obtain enough work locally to meet tax requirements. They form the bulk of the remaining rural population and its main occupation is what it always has been, namely, hand-to-mouth agriculture. Its methods of living have been described by several anthropologists ; speaking generally, casual employment makes practically no difference to the actual food consumed or the methods of procuring it. The food supply for the rural resident is, of course, affected by the fact of industrial absentee labour, but that is another matter. If the countryman has a few shillings left after paying tax, he invariably spends them on luxuries such as clothes. Skins and bark cloths have disappeared nearly everywhere and have been replaced by cloth. Even in very remote places a man manages to collect a few shilling, possibly from a relative in employment, or by taking baskets or salt, for instance, to a mission or *boma* 20 or 30 miles away. The cloth is purchased and his simple needs are met for the year. Shorts and a shirt are made, worn and continually patched till the original material is not discernible in the many coloured patchwork. A shirt is worn till it hangs in threads on a man's back. If, by any chance, an old man wearing a bark cloth is discovered, he is regarded as a curiosity and says apologetically, " Yes, I still wear bark cloths, so does my wife. I'm not like the young men of to-day. I'm too old to earn any money."

Wages for casual labour have risen slightly in the country. A youth can still be employed at 4s. and a man at from 8s. to 10s. a month without food.

From this the next class of labour, that employed permanently at the workers' homes, grew. In every district there is at least a *boma*, usually a mission or two and possibly a settler or farmer. All of them need permanent personal boys in their houses and gardens, boys to collect wood and draw water, clerks, teachers, messengers and evangelists. Many, perhaps a majority, of these can continue to live in their native villages among their own friends and relations. For that reason they are apt to be coupled in their employers' minds with casual labour. " After all," it is said, " they are not like the poor beggars in the towns who have no food. Here they are in their own homes and have their gardens." What is not realised is that eleven months' employment in the year instead of one makes all the difference in the world to the agricultural programme.

For men employed away from their homes there is a pernicious institution called " poso," which is a little extra allowance to cover food. It is pernicious because it tends to make the Bantu feel that wages are always to be spent on something other than food ; for at home they are supposed to live on their gardens and away they have " poso." The former is an inefficient practice as it tends to make the worker even more poorly nourished than the averaged villager. If, alternatively, time off is allowed for gardening, it tends to give the impression that employment is a half-time and, for the worker, a secondary matter.

The average full-time worker, then, living in his own home gets no "poso," but he only receives the same wage as a casual labourer, unless he has special qualifications such as a teacher. He is expected to dig a garden in his spare time or find someone else to do it for him. So what was the villager's main job in life, his food quest, which took a man a minimum of six months' work spread over a year, is supposed to become the spare time occupation of the full-time employee! If he has to pay someone else to do it for him, he is forced to take the money from a wage in which usually no allowance has been made for that purpose. There lies the rub, and the claim for every full-time rural worker to be given "poso"!

Not long ago the Government led the way by giving all its employees "poso," regardless of whether they were in their own homes or not. Other permanent workers, and particularly teachers, have persistently asked for a living allowance and felt their employers to be very hard-hearted when it has been refused. These hardy annual requests become the bane of many a European's life; he feels his African staff works well with him in most things, but in this he thinks it makes unreasonable demands. Where "poso" is given, it is usually related to current rates rather than to the actual cost of the food! In this arbitrary manner it is said, "2s. 6d. or 3s. is all that is needed in the bush where there are gardens."

When men living in their homes do eight hours, work a day, they cannot be expected to work in their gardens as if they were not employed, and it seems only fair that they should receive either a food allowance or a wage including it. So the Government has recently decided to give grants-in-aid for "poso" to teachers. In order to ensure contentment in all such arrangements, it is essential that the rate should not be decided arbitrarily but related to actual costs.

There are considerable data. The cost of a minimum ration for a single man (as laid down by the Government for labour where rations are given, i.e. chiefly to absentee labour) comes in the Northern Province to 7s. 6d. In actual practice educated people such as teachers who form the intelligentsia of the community, have developed a taste for tea, coffee, sugar and condensed milk. Many of them have kept detailed housekeeping accounts which show that they spend from 7s. 6d. to 15s. a month from their wages on food, in spite of the fact that most of them are in "garden areas." When the Government introduced its own "poso" scheme, an enquiry into actual costs was made and the rate 7s. 6d. for single and 10s. for married men decided on, which independently confirms the above figures. 10s. is, however, roughly double the current rates of "poso" for anyone except civil servants. Considering that local Bantu are so wretchedly undernourished, those expected to work hard should be in a position to feed satisfactorily and have the wherewithal to buy meat. While we may legitimately expect many employees to receive a smaller wage than civil servants, there is no reason why they should be expected to eat less.

This means that a full-time, all-the-year-round, low-grade rural worker receiving 7s. 6d. if single or 10s. if married is only on the subsistence level. He earns about enough for food alone. Naturally he spends on clothes and luxuries as well and therefore lives at a lower nutritional level than that required by his occupation. If we add the casual labour wage of, say, 8s. to this, it means that a minimum wage (in the area under consideration) should be 15s. 6d. or 18s.—roughly double the current rate.

After food comes clothing and other sundries of civilisation. Luxuries of fifteen or twenty years ago are to-day necessities. Hands and feet could be rubbed on stones; to-day soap is not only needed for personal hygiene but also for laundry. The bicycle is no longer equivalent to the rich man's Rolls Royce but is often needed for work and always necessary, owing to limited spare time, for maintaining social contacts. The day has gone when an employee could appear at work half naked; to-day it is not done.

For the lowest grade of permanent worker such as a gardener or water-carrier, the wage just referred to might be considered sufficient. A

separate estimate is needed, however, for the higher grades.

The post of Government clerk is the dizzy height to which ambition prompts. On entering a *boma* office to buy a stamp or post a letter the African sees a fellow being immaculately clad in white drill suit with a tie and shoes. He knows his friend is being comparatively well paid and that he will receive a bonus on completing his service. The clerk himself in his private life naturally wants to keep up the standard of his professional appearance. So he goes in for a full European wardrobe. The teachers and one or two other high-grade workers emulate the same trend of fashion. The bare minimum is, of course, shorts and a shirt. But that is now regarded as the attire of school children ; the adult at least needs stockings and shoes, if not long trousers and a suit for social occasions.

Some employers argue that the Bantu do not need to be cluttered up with all our sartorial adornments ; that, because the Native can play football without boots and live with scanty clothing, he need provide himself today with little more than a loin cloth. Take, for instance, the vexed question of shoes or no shoes. Many mistresses object to hearing house-boys clatter about in shoes on the cement floors. Ill-fitting second-hand shoes and African belles in high heels offend the sense of the aesthetic. The utilitarian, however, may point out that it hurts even Africans to walk without shoes. It is true that their natural soles become so thick that rats gnaw them in their sleep, but they crack painfully and barefooted carriers always have trouble with their feet, stubbing toes on roots and stone, cutting them with sharp grass and prickles. Shoes are also a protection against hookworm, an incidental protection enjoyed and paid for by the possessor and not by public services. There is a case then at least for plimsols if not for leather shoes. " All God's chil'en got shoes " may yet be a song for the Bantu Utopia.

A man going to work in all weathers needs a raincoat. The villager may crouch over a fire if it rains ; or, if he has to dig, he can do so nearly naked and then warm himself by a fire at home. The school-teacher, on the other hand, cannot walk to his work with his clothes under his arm and stand shivering before an hilarious class. The changed life of a full-time worker calls for many of the minor accessories of civilisation for which allowance is seldom made. For instance, an old-fashioned gentleman in Church on a Sunday may either be bored with the sermon or be seized by a desire to blow his nose. He wraps his covering around himself and, bent double, creeps out before the envious eyes of the others. He blows his nose between his fingers, takes a little snuff, stretches his legs and goes in again. But what is the African pastor to do ? Can he say, " Ladies and gentlemen, excuse me a moment while I go out and blow my nose according to ancient custom ? " He does not ; he uses a twentieth century handkerchief.

A man, though having adopted European clothing, does not yet often walk side by side with his wife. He would, however, feel ashamed if the woman going before him were merely clad in a bushbuck skin tied round her buttocks. He is European clad, she has to be European clad. In rural areas women seldom wear shoes ; but they may sometimes be seen in plimsols. A cotton frock is usually worn quite becomingly, with a cloth, in the form of an extra skirt, tied round the waist. Underneath she may be wearing a few older frocks for safe keeping, or at least a petticoat and pants. On her head will be worn a large coloured cotton handkerchief and, as they go along, she may also carry an umbrella laid across her head and a baby on her back.

Care of clothes is difficult in houses constructed chiefly of sticks and mud, with a minimum of furniture. If you enter, say, a medical orderly's house, you may see a table, chair and bed ; but the clothes are all hung on nails round the bedroom wall, and a few may be stowed away in boxes. In such a house with no protection against white ants, the man may find his trousers eaten in a night or his wife may find a dress is full of enormous holes.

For the bicycle, which may be needed to reach a man's work, in the bush all accessories and tools are needed as well. Few cyclists in England

could remove all the spokes of a wheel and fit a new rim. Possibly half these Bantu cyclists could do so, a little clumsily perhaps, but they know how and need to possess the tools. We are familiar with estimating the running costs of a car; we forget that for the smaller income there are running costs for the possessor of a bicycle, sewing machine or shot gun.

With these sundry considerations in mind, using a price list of articles as obtainable near the average rural *boma*, it will be illuminating to make a budget of minimum necessities required by a Bantu family where the man is in permanent work in a higher grade.

Clothing for the man, per annum :

3 shirts at 5s.	15s.	
[1]4 vests at 1s. 6d.	6s.	
3 shorts at 5s.	15s.	
[1]3 pants at 2s.	6s.	
1 trousers	8s.	
1 jacket	15s.	
1 pair shoes	17s. 6d.	
2 prs. socks at 1s. 6d.	3s.	
2 prs. stockings at 2s. 6d.	5s.	
½ raincoat	10s.	£5 0 6

Clothing for the family, per annum :

3 dresses at 4s.	12s.	
[2]2 cloths at 3s.	6s.	
2 knickers at 1s. 3d.	2s. 6d.	
3 headcloths at 6d.	1s. 6d.	
2 petticoats at 1s.	2s.	
Children's clothes	10s.	£1 14 0
Total cost of clothing per annum		£6 14 6

The prices will indicate that the clothes are *not* of the best quality and therefore need replacing frequently.

Sundry items per annum :

Depreciation on bicycle	£1 0 0	
Tyres	15 0	
Tubes	5 0	
Repair outfit	2 6	
Bicycle licence	2 6	2 5 0
Tax		0 6 0
Proportion of watch (needed to know when it is time to go to work and nearly time to knock off)		3 0
Boarding school for one child : fees, fares etc.		2 0 0
½ a blanket		3 0
Crockery etc.		2 6
Stationery and stamps		6 0
Books and newspapers		6 0
Paraffin (2 bottles a month)		1 4 0
Soap		12 0
Hospitality and charity		15 0
		£8 2 6

[1] These may be regarded as unnecessary luxuries, but they are included because they are usually worn.
[2] These are used for carrying the baby.

Omissions from this list will be obvious. No provision is made for furniture, nails, hinges, etc., required in improving the house or erecting a kitchen. The items given are not exhaustive, but a minimum.

Clothes	£6 14 6
Sundries	8 2 6
	£14 17 0 per annum,

or £1 4s. 9d. per month without food, making the total, including "poso," £1 14s. 9d. The minimum therefore for this class of worker would appear to be 35s. per month, well over double the present actual minimum.

The chief factors making for low wages in this group are the slender resources of employers. There are, of course, a number of employers who through inefficiency or misfortune have not the means to pay higher rates. Missionaries form a large proportion of the White population in rural places and their slight personal emoluments together with inadequate mission funds mean that, while a strong educative influence is raising the standard of living among the Bantu, the resources are not available to provide corresponding increases in pay. Nor is their sufficiently widespread local employment or improvement in agriculture which would enable the population at large to help bear the costs. The more prosperous rural employer, being in the minority,

does not set the wage standard. Wage fluctuations may occur locally when, for instance, Government requires labour urgently for a particular job and is prepared to pay comparatively heavily for it.

The remaining major group is that including industrial and absentee labour generally. More of the urban worker's conditions are laid down by law. According to the law he must be given at least a minimum ration and housed. While these conditions are fulfilled fairly well by the larger employers of labour, some of the smaller ones still need to bring their practice up to legal requirements. With food and shelter largely provided for, what of the standard of living to be met by cash wages ?

The question of food cannot, however, be dismissed quite so summarily. While it is obviously good policy from an efficiency point of view to feed operatives well, the care of the robust worker is apt to eclipse the necessity for caring for his wife and family. Among the "temporarily urbanised" Bantu, it is becoming normal for a man to be accompanied by his wife and often by several children. Although the man may laudibly be fed slightly in excess of the stipulated minimum, it is usual for wives to receive about half the amount of food issued to a male worker. The chairman of the 1940 Commission stated that a married man in the Copperbelt earning 12s. 6d. a month (the then starting wage of a surface worker on the mines) was actually on the subsistence level, spending his whole wages to supplement his rations. The prosperous state of several Native feeding houses near the compounds adds point to this statement. Many of the complaints about rations on the mines are not really based on inadequacy but likes and dislikes. So the diet has to be made more attractive by buying additional delicacies such as dried caterpillars or locusts. There is still a certain amount of barter ; women go to the Native market and exchange some of their meal rations for sweet potatoes or tobacco. But, on the whole, barter is almost dead and everything has to be purchased for cash. Those who obtain a living as hawker or middleman can only afford to dispose of their wares for money which is needed to meet their own commitments.

Living in town is always more expensive than living in the country and the *Bantu urban labourer needs to maintain a standard equal to that of a higher grade rural worker*. So the higher rates of pay and slightly cheaper stores are counterbalanced by the higher cost of living. Bantu living near comparatively large European settlements naturally find their wants increasing rapidly. The Native urban dweller to-day, whatever his work, can no more exist without a smart set of clothes than he could have managed yesterday without bow and arrow. For the ill-paid there are second-hand goods in plenty obtainable from European's back doors, hawkers importing from the Congo and from more well-to-do friends. But most people, of course, like their things to be new and fashionable and are therefore tempted by the numerous stores containing Japanese and Indian as well as British goods. The latest in narrow-brimmed felt hats, flannel trousers, striped shirts with semi-stiff collars and a large variety of multi-coloured blazers are piled ready for the prospective purchaser. For the man away from home enamel and ironware at once takes the place of pottery and gourds. There are, therefore, pots, basins, dishes and knives for sale in profusion. Crowds at beer halls and football matches where everyone is dressed in European fashion show how universal is the new standard of clothing.

In town even a Native needs pocket money and finds that it seems to go nowhere. In compounds housing several thousand Africans firewood soon is difficult to obtain ; now many men earn a living by collecting and selling bundles of firewood at 3d. each to miners' wives. Roots to make a favourite drink may be in a distant part of the surrounding bush ; they are bought from someone energetic enough to search for them. Even children have their bicycles and often go many miles on them each day to school. In town a bicycle is even more of a necessity than for the village workers. Spare time is shorter and occasional visits to rural friends are necessary. Visitors must be given hospitality and the tax is higher, ranging from 12s. 6d. to 15s. The beer

hall takes its toll. A man says, "You may go there with 10s. in your pocket and want to spend 1s. But you meet some friends and spend more; or perhaps a woman comes along and asks very loudly if you will buy her some beer. If you don't do so everyone thinks you have no money. So it's all gone before you know what's happened."

From these considerations it will be seen that the cost of living in town for the average man is at least equal to that of the higher paid rural worker, i.e. 25s. if sufficient food is issued to cover the needs of wife and family, but in most places the extra 10s. is still needed, making the minimum 35s. The present starting wage for work underground on the Copperbelt mines is 25s.; the minimum starting wage is, however, 15s. a month on the surface plus a temporary war extra payment of 2s. 6d. a month. Therefore a beginner on the surface, if married, will probably have from 2s. 6d. to 5s. a month to spend on items other than additional food during the first year's work. The African workers' complaint in 1940 was that, in spite of increased technical ability and a rapidly rising standard of living, wages had remained stationary since the opening of the mines. In 1940 starting rates were increased for surface and underground from 12s. 6d. to 15s. and from 22s. 6d. to 25s. respectively; skilled and semi-skilled workers were graded and given higher maximum wages. This will probably have the effect of greater stabilisation of the Native labour force.

Mine rates of pay compare favourably with those given in other industries employing absentee labour. Casual labour is employed by contractors at rates from 10s. a month, and general conditions of food, housing, sanitation, etc. are less satisfactory. It is not surprising, therefore, that many people when returning to their home villages do so with very little gain except experience.

The African compares his lot with that of the European. A house-boy entering one room in a European's house sees furniture, clocks, pictures, wireless, carpets and goods which would take him more than a lifetime's earnings to buy. The one room contains sufficient wealth to keep several Native families for years. Yet the same White man possesses a complete house furnished on the same scale, to say nothing of cars, cameras and stores. The European's whole standard of living naturally corresponds with the comparative lavishness of his possessions. A bottle of whisky might well equal a month's or even two month's wages for a Native, while a single "sundowner" sometimes costs the equivalent of wages for 100 Natives for a month.

The Bantu are not slow to make the comparison and frequently ask why the White man should receive what appears to be an excessive remuneration for his oversight when much of the work is so frequently done by the Bantu themselves. They do not always make allowances for responsibility shouldered by the European; what the Native feels is a growing need of European materials—clothes, watches, furniture, gramophones and cameras are even now in use—and a constant thwarting of his ambitions by low wages.

To the Native the European has limitless resources of wealth which are being denied him. This feeling, especially in cases where it is justified, breeds mistrust, resentment and an "anti-white" outlook. The Bantu have the same attitude towards pilfering the White man's larder and wardrobe as the latter has towards avoiding income tax or customs duty. It is not regarded as theft, but merely retaining trifles which must be unconsidered parts of a fathomless treasure. It is this widespread feeling of being thwarted which has given power to the Watchtower movement. Its followers believe that officials of the Government, the Church and even of Native society are emissaries of Satan. They look for the day of liberation when their American colleagues will arrive and free them from economic slavery and present them with the alchemist's stone that turns all to gold; they will be their own masters and drive about in cars as do Europeans. Those outside the Watchtower movement are also influenced by the same longings. Even those employed by the most sympathetic Europeans frequently give vent to violent anti-White statements. Speaking of this an evangelist recently said, "The elders tell us to be contented with

our lot and to accept the same fatalistic outlook as they have always had. But we of this generation cannot; we are worried and distressed at the things going on around us."

Lord Hailey, speaking of the Union, says in his *African Survey* (p. 687) that Native wages are based on the assumption that the Native can draw his subsistence from the land. There is, however, a growing population which cannot do so at the standards now prevailing; wage earning has become a necessity for which "the male adult scale" as against the family scale is inadequate. These people of the Bantu Dispersion are depressed by the fact that labour on a lower standard can still be obtained from outside reserves.

This is also increasingly true of Northern Rhodesia where the General Missionary Conference recently passed a resolution opining that Bantu wages should bear a closer relation to the cost and standard of living—a comparatively new idea in the country.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Colonial Research Scheme

Nuffield College, Oxford, has started an investigation into certain colonial problems. Subjects have been selected which will throw light on important economic and constitutional aspects of colonial reconstruction. The enquiry is directed mainly towards certain territories in British Africa, partly because of the predominant position of Africa in the Colonial Empire and also because it has been the subject of special study by three members of the Committee directing the research: Lord Hailey, Professor R. Coupland and Sir Alan Pim, and also by the Director of Research, Miss Margery Perham.

In the economic investigation the object is to analyse the nature of the colonial economies and their contact with the world economy. The two territories chosen as examples are Nigeria and the Gold Coast. These territories are important both from the size of their population and as examples of economic development by co-operation between Africans, the Government, and traders, without the intervention of European colonists. The choice was confirmed by the difficulties of colonial research in war-time, since only for these two areas was it possible to obtain the services of students who had already worked in them and could return in the immediate future.

The constitutional study will inquire into the working of the various political institutions developed in the colonies under British rule in the more important territories of British Tropical Africa. Executive and legislative councils, municipal and advisory bodies will be examined and among other questions that of the efficacy as a training in self-government will be considered, as well as their relation to traditional institutions under the policy of indirect rule.

Amongst those associated with the scheme and research are Professor Daryll Forde, Dr. M. Fortes, Miss M. Green and Mr. Martin Wight, and also Mr. K. Busia, an Ashanti student from Achimota College.

* * * *

The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute

The Report for 1941 of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and Museum shows that the work is being carried on in spite of the difficulties created by war conditions. The Institute's plan of research aimed to increase our knowledge of the sociology of British Central and East African tribes with a view to enabling us to understand the great social changes occurring in this region. Amongst the areas selected for special enquiry is Barotseland "because for one thing the Barotse have greater independence than any other African people under European rule except the Ganda." When this study is completed the three main tribal areas and centres of modern rural life in Northern Rhodesia will have been covered; but, says the Report, much remains to be done: another study of the Ila-Tonga; the Angoni; the Copper Belt; Africans in non-mining industries and on farms; and the other tribes of Northern Rhodesia.

In the other territories served by the Institute (which include Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda) there is a similar wealth of problems for study. How soon these can be tackled depends on a variety of circumstances: war developments, colonial research schemes, funds and the number of anthropologists available. The Institute's Board of Trustees has not lost sight of these possibilities but is at present concentrating on keeping the Institute working so that it may be ready for rapid expansion after the war.

* * * *

Protection of Historical Monuments

On the recommendation of the Historical Monuments Commission, the Union Government has recently made new by-laws for the protection of natural and historical monuments, relics and antiques.

The regulations provide that "No painting or engraving or carving on stone known or commonly believed to have been executed by Bushmen or other aboriginals of South Africa or by any people who inhabited or visited South Africa before the

advent of Europeans, shall be removed without the written consent of the Commission, such consent to be dependent upon the following regulations :

(1) An applicant for permission to remove any painting or engraving or carving on stone as defined above shall at the time of his application furnish the Commission with a brief description of the object to be removed and a general locality sketch of the area from which it is proposed to remove it.

(2) Permission to remove such painting or engraving or carving on stone shall be granted at the discretion of the Commission subject to the following provisions :

(i) The applicant shall furnish proof in writing that he has obtained the consent of the owner or owners of the property on which the object to be removed is situated ;

(ii) All work of removal shall be carried out under the personal supervision of an expert approved by the Commission ;

(iii) Before any specimen is removed or the site in any way disturbed—

(a) a photograph shall be taken showing a general view of the site ; the photograph to include some object of known size so that the scale of the whole may be appreciated ;

(b) a close-up photograph of the painting, engraving or carving on stone to beremoved shall also be taken ; this photograph to include a small but clear inch or metric scale as well as portions of the surrounding rock that remain outside the portion to be removed ;

(c) in the case of a painting, a complete set of tracings of the original to be removed shall be made on transparent paper or cellophane with notes on superimposed paintings where these occur as well as on colours in accordance with the Dictionary of Colour (Maerz & Paul) or the *Code Universal des Couleurs* of the *Encyclopedie Pratique du Naturaliste* (E.P.N. XXX, 1936) or any other method approved by the Commission ;

(d) in the case of an engraving or carving, a carbon rubbing or cast in plaster of paris or other material approved by the Commission shall be made of the original ; and

(e) all work of actual removal of the portion of the rock on which the painting, engraving or carving occurs shall be carried out by a person competent to work in stone and previously approved by the Commission.

(iv) The painting, engraving or carving on stone shall be removed neatly and with as little damage to adjacent portions of rock as possible.

(v) The holder of the permit shall affix a lasting notice previously approved by the Commission to the scarred area from which the painting or engraving or carving was removed stating (1) the address to which it was removed, (2) when it was removed and (3) that it was removed by permission of the Commission."

The full text of the new regulations was published in the Government Gazette on 20th April, 1942.

* * * *

Prizes for Essays on Zulu History

We have received the following letter from Miss Killie Campbell of Durban, who is well known in Natal for her interest in Native affairs. We hope that her proposals will meet with a ready response.

"This is a call to the Zulu Nation ; to all who are interested in gathering records of their own historical places.

In order to preserve the records of Zulu history for the benefit of the Zulu people, I am offering three prizes for the best essays written on any of the lesser known historical sites. The first prize will be £7, the second £5 and the third £3.

For example : Shaka's stone at Groutville Mission Station, where it is commonly believed Shaka rested on his way between his military kraal at Stranger and Shaka's Kraal, to meet his headmen and warriors, to give orders and dispense justice. Or the huge overhanging cave rock called Itshe likaNdikimba near Esindumbini,

where the Rev. J. Tyler in 1849 used to preach before his church was built. Mrs. Gray said her father found the cave full of skeletons, probably of refugees who fled from Shaka's or Dingane's wrath. The cave was cleared of bones and services were held there. Another legend says it was the home of a huge man-eating lion and the bones belonged to his victims.

Essays should be written on one side of the paper only; give your name and address clearly and state the sources of your information and directions as to where the places are situated. The essays may be written in either Zulu (or English) and will be judged more on their historical interest than the composition. The essays are to be sent direct to: Mr. D. McK. Malcolm, Native Education Department, P.O. Box 380, Pietermaritzburg. He has kindly offered to judge the results.

Entries for the essays close on August 12th.

I earnestly appeal to the Zulu people for such records of historical places before the information is lost and to gather from the old men and women of the kraal before it is too late, the tales of the past.

It is hoped after the war, to start a collection of records of pictures, bead work, utensils, etc., which may become the nucleus of Bantu Museums.

European contributions to the records will be gratefully received but are not eligible for prizes.

The winning essays will be broadcast from the Durban Studio."

* * * *

An Ancient Mine in the Transvaal

The no-mans-land between stone age archaeology and ethnic history of the South African Native peoples is now receiving some of the attention it has so long lacked. Mr. J. B. de Vaal of Happy Rest, Northern Transvaal, has recently entered this field of study and has made several valuable contributions on pre-European ruins, irrigation works, and mining in the Zoutpansberg district.

In the following communication Mr. de Vaal describes an ancient gold mining shaft discovered by him on the farm Bosley, Zoutpansberg.

"Op die plaas Bosley, sewentien myl van Louis Trichardt geleë, is daar bo-op Soutpansberg, twaalf myl wes van die Messinagrootpad, op 'n rand 'n ou mynskag. Hierdie skag is gemaak in die suidelike kant van 'n rotslys wat van oos na wes strek.

'n Mens klim omtrent drie voet af tot op die eerste vloer. Dan is daar aan die oostekant 'n gat van omtrent agt voet loodregte diepte, ovaalormig en twee-en-twintig voet lank. 'n Anderv gat loop vanaf die eerste vloer na die noordekant toe in, maar is nie so diep soos eersgenoemde nie. Wes van die noordwaarts inlopende gat is 'n tonneltjie wat voor weer by die gat aansluit.

Die eienaar van die plaas, mnr. Holzkampf, het in die skag laat grawe. Hy het daar baie losgrond en klippe uitgehaal. Dit blyk asof hierdie skag, netsoos die Messina kopermyne, weer toegegooi is nadat die werkery deur die primitiewe bewerkers voor die koms van die blanke ontginners van die myn gestaak is. Op die vloer van die tonneltjie, waar nog losgrond en klippe lê, en waar die eienaar nie laat grawe het nie, het ek met die hand kleipotskerwe en 'n stukkie houtskool uitgegrawe. Op party van die skerwe kom patrone voor, oorwegend die bekende visgraatpatroon.

Die plaaseienaar het aan my meegedeel dat hy 'n geoloog daar gehad het, en dat die aan hom meegedeel het dat die klip goudhoudend is. Dit was dus 'n mynskag wat deur goudsoekers, waarskynlik Bantoes, gemaak is.

Ons gids, 'n Muwenda wat in Soutpansberg gebore is, en wat sekerlik al sestig of meer jaar oud is, kon ons niks daaromtrent meedeel nie. Hyself kon ook nie by ouer naturelle iets daaromtrent uitvind nie.

Na die stukkie houtskool geoordeel blyky dit dat hierdie werkers baie primitief moes gewees het, en dat hulle waarskynlik die klippe laat bars het soos die Bakaranga goudmynwerkers in Suid-Rhodesie gedoen het, deur vuur daarop te maak en die verhitte rotse dan met water te begiet. Daar is 'n vlei met water daarin omtrent tweehonderd treë van die skag af, sodat water maklik bekombaar was.

Van die kleipotskerwe kan 'n mens aflei dat die bewerkers Bantoes moes gewees het. Die skerwe

is waarskynlik oorblyfsels van kleipotte waarin water aangedra is.

'n Verdere bewys dat goud in Soutpansberg voor en met die koms van die eerste Voortrekkers na Soutpansberg gegrawe is, vind ons in die reisverslag van J. G. S. Bronkhorst, wat in 1836 saam met Generaal A. H. Potgieter en 'n geselskap 'n besoek aan Louis Trichardt gebring het. Trichardt het met sy laer aan Doringrivier naby die teenswoordige Elim-hospitaal gestaan: "Die volk het ons ook 'n myn gewys, waar hul goud uithaal en ringe daarvan vervaardig, wat ek gesien het. Ons het van die erts met ons saamgebreng. Di myn is net teenoor Louis Trechard s'n laer, op Soutpansberg." (I). Met "volk" bedoel Bronkhorst sekerlik Bantoes. Die ras wat die Soutpansberge in hierdie tyd bewoon het en vandag nog bewoon was die Bawenda, met die ambagsmanne wat vandag nog onder hulle aangetref word, nl. die Balemba.

Ons kan dus aanneem dat die Bawenda of die Balemba die bewerkers was van die goudmyn waarvan Bronkhorst praat en ook miskien die bewerkers was van die myn op Bosley."

* * * *

Tswana Literature :

The Bantu Treasury Series, which now has Volume 7 in preparation for the press, is obviously meeting a real need in Bantu literature. Of this series Volume 3, the late Sol. T. Plaatje's translation of *Julius Caesar* into Tswana, has just gone out of print, and the editors are arranging for a war-time reprint to supply its urgent requirement as a school text-book for examination purposes. The fact that this Tswana publication is the first of the series to be sold out emphasises what literature surveys in South Africa have repeatedly made known—the dearth of vernacular literature in Tswana. There is an obvious need for a concerted and carefully-planned programme of literature production in this language area, and it is to be hoped that joint action may be possible by the various education departments dealing with the language. It is clear that education and literacy are outstripping the provision of reading material in Tswana.

(I) Gustav S. Preller, "Dagboek van Louis Trigardt." "Het Volksblad"—Drukkery, Bloemfontein, 1917. Bylae III, bls. 388.

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Theses for Higher Degrees :

The Rev. R. H. W. Shepherd, M.A. has been awarded the degree of D.Litt. by the University of the Witwatersrand for a thesis in two parts: *Lovedale, South Africa : The Story of a Century*, which has been published, and "*Lovedale and Literature for the Bantu* (unpublished).—(Exam. 1941).

Mr. D. P. Hallowes, B.Com., B.A. (Hons.) has been awarded the M.A. degree of the University of the Witwatersrand for a thesis entitled *The Grammar of Baca and its Relation to Swazi, Zulu and Xhosa* (unpublished)—(Exam. 1941).

Mr. D. F. v.d. Merwe, B.A. has been awarded the Ph.D. degree of the University of Cape Town for a thesis on *The Morphology and Semasiology of the Sotho verb-stem, with special reference to the derivative verbal species* (unpublished)—(Exam. 1941).

Mr. G. L. Letele, B.A. has been awarded the M.A. degree of the University of Cape Town for a thesis entitled *A preliminary study of the lexicological influence of the Nguni languages on Southern Sotho* (unpublished)—(Exam. 1940).

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Case for African Freedom. By Joyce Cary. 1941. London : Secker & Warburg. 128 pp. 2s.

Mr. Cary knows his African as readers of *Aissa Saved*, *African Witch* and *Mister Johnson* will agree. His case, therefore, like all good advocacy, is based on a knowledge of the human material involved. It also draws on a wide experience of conditions in tropical Africa and a close study of the economic and racial problems of continental Africa.

It may be that " development " or " reconstruction " would be more appropriate words than " freedom " in the argument that the author propounds. But Mr. Cary's freedom is not an absence of government, (like Robinson Crusoe's) but " a kind of power– the power to do what you like." And this freedom can be greatly increased by social organisation, by transport, by education, by labour legislation. The means to use it must be present and to make a man free you have to create a whole social order of a special kind.

It has been stated of British Colonial rule that its great merit is that there is so little of it. This may have its advantages but when it comes to planning an ordered society, and African Governments are now faced with no less a task, there are voids to fill. While the first step towards African freedom is economic, the ineluctable facts about Africa are its poverty, its lack of development, its soil degeneration, its unfavourable climatic conditions, its present inability to render satisfactory economic yields except through the wasteful exploitation of Big Business.

Through the years leading up to the present war we have seen the demise of tribalism in many parts of Africa. We have seen convincing evidence of the Africans' ability to take his place in the modern world. The imponderable justice of seeing that he finds this place is underlined by his impressive response to the call of war and the contribution he is making thereby towards the post-wa world. General Smuts's recent speech on trusteeship shows an awareness of responsibilities which will become ever more apparent and insistent in the Africa of tomorrow.

Readers of this journal will be particularly interested in Mr. Cary's observations on the colour bar in the Union and the Rhodesias and the danger of its encroachment further into tropical Africa. He goes so far as to doubt whether it is not already too late for any South African Parliament or statesman to change the direction of Union policy in matters of racial discrimination. He perhaps underrates the influence of liberal ideas in the Union, the possible emergence of new post-war trends in race relations, the curative effects of time (which " antiquates antiquities.") But, he argues, time is short and the sands are running low.

After the when the where. Where is the task of reconstructing Africa to be started ? The " one step at a time " policy has failed. The answer must be " every-where at once." He urges a broad attack rather than a deep one, a widespread system of teachers and community-improvement agents, Native dispensers, agricultural demonstrators and the rest, rather than a limited service of high quality. " A small achievement in every village, the glimmerings of a new idea in every head, is far better than one planned township and a few hundred pupils attempting the English school certificate." On the other hand it may be argued that there must be standards to measure by and models to copy and that one central school may have greater value as an example of what can be done and what should be aimed at, than a chain of village schools giving sketchy and undirected instruction which may well seem to lead nowhere.

In the same way he advocates the encouragement of small village industries and shows the place that co-operative agencies would have in such a plan.

Yet always we come back to poverty and ignorance which are the final enemies of African development. His picture of Africa " the museum of disease and frustration," " the vast slum amongst the nations " is not a pretty one. But if the present panorama is bleak, there is hope for the future because despite all his frustrations

and disabilities, the African knows what he wants and has the vitality to struggle towards his goal.

Mr. Cary's comments on the decay of tribalism and the growth of indigenous civilisation in the towns may produce beetled brows in some colonial secretariats and some anthropological academies but will be appreciated by the majority of practical workers in the wide field of African development.

The case for African freedom is made with unanswerable logic. Within the narrow limits prescribed by such a booklet, the writer surveys Africa's health and education, her agriculture and her economics. He indicates in general terms how these conditions can and why they must be improved. No breath is wasted tilting at windmills, but errors, prejudices and omissions are attacked with vigour. At the same time, plans for reconstruction and recovery are indicated. If, as has been suggested, there should be an African Charter, Mr. Cary's case for African freedom might well be studied by the draftsmen.

C.J.O.

South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit. By R. F. Alfred Hoernlé. Lovedale Press. for University of Cape Town. 1939. 190 pp. 5s.

Three years have passed since Professor Hoernlé delivered his Phelps-Stokes lectures in Cape Town, afterwards published as *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit*, but a new appraisal of the book will not be misplaced. Little has happened during the war to invalidate any of its conclusions, though many hope that when peace comes and the soldiers return there will be a strengthening of the forces of liberalism and tolerance, and a new determination to solve difficult problems by whatever means may be necessary.

The keynote of Professor Hoernlé's view is that the principles of liberal democracy were evolved in the nineteenth century by men having no knowledge of the multi-racial society now familiar to us. He holds that these principles are inapplicable to the multi-racial society, not perhaps in theory, but certainly in practice, since the conditions of that society evoke race hatreds and conflicts which no amount of reasoning can dispel. The first two lectures provide a vivid, and extremely well worked-out, contrast between the "technique of domination," as actually observed in South Africa, and the "spirit of trusteeship"—a poor Cinderella of a policy that gets very little serious consideration. The two conflicting tendencies exist side by side, but it is clearly shown that whereas the spirit of trusteeship is little more than an alien intruder of earlier days, surviving on sufferance, the principle of domination is deeply rooted in the soil of the country, and flourishes in its congenial air.

After a philosophical examination of the meaning of liberty, and the possibility of liberty in these unfavourable circumstances, Professor Hoernle turns to examine the alternative policies which it would be possible for a liberal to advocate. He points out that the existing system gives some scope, though a very limited scope, for a short-range policy of easing the strain on the Non-Europeans in various administrative spheres. At the same time it is necessary for the liberal to know whither he is going, and what long-range policy he is aiming at while tinkering with the existing system. Three long-range policies present themselves as alternatives to the policy of domination, and these are called Parallelism, Total Assimilation and Total Separation. Total Assimilation means the purely colour-blind policy, in which race would have no bearing on anyone's place in society or the State ; Parallelism means providing for the races equally, but separately—separate and parallel schools, employments, social amenities and so on ; Total Separation means not segregation on the existing model, but the separation of Black and White into completely separate states each racially homogeneous in population. Each of these policies has much to be said for it in theory, but the real problem is to discover which of them would have a chance of being carried out in practice. Total Assimilation would have no such chance, and Parallelism would involve the continued domination of White over Black. In other words the multi-racial society is a failure and should be broken up by a policy of separation. To do this would involve an amount of sacrifice and will-power which Professor Hoernlé does not believe the White community to possess.

He is driven to the conclusion that none of these policies will, in fact, be adopted, and that the alternative will be disaster. Any reader whose temperament revolts at this pessimism will do well to give the book serious consideration, and ask himself by what means he expects South Africa to escape this *impasse*, and how he thinks the means will be made acceptable to the European voters. We are in a fix, all right. The chief comfort will be derived from our experience of a war in which every success has been an achievement of the impossible by means which are not mentioned in the text-books.

A.M.K.J.

The Financial and Economic History of the African Tropical Territories. By Sir Alan Pim. Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 1940. 234 pp. 10s. 6d.

Economic history is usually duller than political or social history, a fact that may partly account for the neglect of the economic history of Africa. No one has done more in recent years to repair this neglect than Sir Alan Pim. He is the author of important blue books on the three South African Protectorates and of others on Northern Rhodesia, Kenya, and several other British colonies.

His new book has all the qualities that we have come to expect of him. It is concise and yet it is highly informative with all the detail one wants. Originally a short course of lectures, it is intended to give a general idea of the course and extent of economic development in East, West, and Central Africa up to 1936; and it covers not only British Africa but French, Belgian, and the former German territories as well. The sources of information are sometimes scanty and statistics particularly are often inadequate but the author has extracted every ounce of useful material that they will yield.

Sir Alan points out that in the past the uncontrolled investment of capital was regarded as the essential contribution of Europe to the opening up of Africa. The direction in which such capital went depended on the investors. The result has been that valuable enterprises have at times lacked capital while flimsy projects have obtained and lost it. Sir Alan believes that in the future Africa may be forced to rely to an increasing extent on its own capital resources, and, we might add, more particularly on the Union's. He thinks that some form of control of the directions in which capital should be applied in colonies is required, and that there will be a demand that this control should be international in character. Certainly for the scientific conquest of Nature, still Africa's worst enemy, human knowledge and resources must be pooled. The co-operation between British, French and Belgian authorities under the stress of war will surely be maintained when peace returns.

Primitive Art. By L. Adam. Penguin Books. 6d. 1940. 160 pp.

The scope and plan of this survey of primitive art cause it almost inevitably to rank with the growing number of more or less superficial compilations which appear to be in vogue, for Mr. Adam starts with the proposition that art is only one facet of a total culture and that in order to understand it, it is necessary to understand its context. He has therefore undertaken a résumé of the archaeological and ethnographical literature on pre-historic man, on the primitive peoples of North Africa, Asia, Australia, Oceania and America, on the Bushman and the Negro. Not content with that, Mr. Adam has also undertaken discussion of art, of primitive religion, of primitive art and psycho-analysis, peasant and children's art and the effects of (1) primitive art on European art and (2) European art on primitive art, and this in 150 pages. Apart from the fact that a work of art is peculiarly independent of its age and context the limitations and perhaps viciousness of the outline method should be observed. The Pelican series stands in high repute and its books are sponsored by eminent authorities: *Primitive Art* has a foreword by Dr. Marett.

The quality of the book can be judged by the chapter on Bushman art, which is selected as of special interest to South African readers. Mr. Adam points to "strong similarities between Bushman art and prehistoric art of the Franco-Cantabrian group" (87). It is, however, the Capsian, or East Spanish group which most closely resembles the Bushman. In subject-matter, style and other important respects the

Franco-Cantabrian paintings are dissimilar. Mr. Adam considers that the paintings are the work of modern Bushmen on the grounds of statements made by Bushmen to Stow. Stow showed copies of certain paintings to Bushmen who immediately recognised what was portrayed and declared the paintings to be the work of their own countrymen. While admitting that this alone does not afford proof that the painters themselves were modern Bushmen, Mr. Adam adds " in any case discussion is pointless because Moszeik reports that he met an old Boer who actually watched the Bushmen at work " (88). We have all met people who have seen pterodactyls or the Loch Ness monster. With regard to the paint they used, one need not go to the laboratory of Dr. Wagner in Sondeshausen to know that they used what all primitive peoples have used, namely, earth colours, red, yellow, white, and black coal. Mr. Adam also speaks of greys, violets and blues and states that the grey was not examined. A child knows that it is mixed from white and black. He also states that violet was not examined. Permanent violet has only been known for the last hundred years or so. White is stated to have been zinc oxide. This, however, was only put on the market as a paint in about 1850 and its use as a paint was not suggested before 1782. It is not possible that blue can have been used, though the greys often give an appearance of blue. Discussing the engravings, Mr. Adam states " In some regions the pictures are painted in colour ; elsewhere only chippings occur. The difference is due to the natural conditions of the country " (88). Compare Miss Wilman in her authoritative study of the rock engravings of Griqualand West (included in Mr. Adam's bibliography) : " To suggest, as so many writers have done, that they (i.e. the engravers) were cave painters dwelling in a land where there were neither rock shelters nor caves, and therefore no surfaces suitable for the production of their works, is absurd, considering how highly specialised was the engraver's art, even in its infancy and decadence." As Miss Wilman has pointed out, both styles of art often occur side by side ; moreover the engravers were very different not only in their style of work but also in their outlook on life. Mr. Adam has given no indication of the various techniques of engraving. This section is illustrated by black and white reproductions from Helen Tongue's " Bushman Paintings." Praiseworthy as Miss Tongue's work was at the time when it was undertaken (1909), anyone who has compared one of her reproductions with an original painting will realise how wide they are of the mark. It would have been much more satisfactory to have used photographs or tracings, for these reproductions give a very erroneous impression of Bushman art.

Little more need be said except that Mr. Adam's definition of " primitive " (15) would include the Asiatic, Egyptian and Central American cultures, though in practice Mr. Adam does not stick to his definition. It should also be noted that Mr. Adam appears to be a disciple of the anti-intellectualist movement that dates from the turn of the century and was perhaps epitomised by D. H. Lawrence's capering redskins. Mr. Adam therefore holds that " modern artistic taste " is characterised *inter alia* by a " preference for primitiveness and spontaneity rather than refinement and sophistication " (19). It is difficult not to think that these appositions are deliberately false. It is at least high time for the clichés used in describing primitive art (vitality, spontaneity, rhythm, simplicity) to be re-examined. Apart from their highly questionable veracity, the cult of these attributes and the corresponding anti-intellectualism has had deplorable results.

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